THE WORKERS
VANGUARD

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NDP MUST DEMAND:

Break from NATO Pact!

by Anne Macdonald

As the government moves to renew Canada's membership in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization this spring, the New Democratic Party faces a major challenge — to end the equivocation in official policy toward NATO, and begin immediately a far-reaching campaign to break Canada from its complicity in this aggressive military alliance.

On paper, the party is already committed to oppose NATO. Convention resolutions call for withdrawal if the alliance is "nuclear-armed." When challenged last year by NDP MP Bert Herridge, Defense Minister Hellyer admitted that NATO was indeed a nuclear armed alliance, and went on to say that the Canadian air division had a striking capacity 100 times greater than that required to destroy Hiroshima.

Yet as recently as last Nov. 18, NDP defense critic Andrew Brewin stated in the house that "We do not advocate withdrawal from NATO, although we do advocate that the entire framework of NATO based on nuclear weapons ought to be reconsidered." The party's parliamentary spokesmen seek reform, not abolition, of NATO.

Their position has never enjoyed the full support of the membership. At the 1961 founding convention, the NDP was saddled with a pro-NATO policy only by dint of the most desperate maneuvers on the part of the top leadership. With 22 of the 24 resolutions on NATO demanding withdrawal, T. C. Douglas blackmailed the delegates by threatening to resign as newly-elected leader of the day-old party, should it choose an uncompromising position against the Atlantic Alliance.

Why do NDP leaders attach so much importance to NATO? They continue to cling to the cold war myth that the main issue in the world today is the struggle between "democracy" (which they identify in the last analysis with the western alliance under U.S. hegemony), and "totalitarianism" (the Soviet bloc nations and, in the last analysis, all those countries and people outside or struggling against the sphere of U.S. imperialism's influence).

The facts, of course, show NATO has nothing to do with the defense of democracy. Among its members are fascist Portugal and the Greek military dictatorship.

As for opposition to "totalitarianism," what could have been more democratic than the inspiring and courageous struggle this past year of the Czechoslovak workers and students for socialist democracy — a struggle which struck deadly blows at the lie constantly propagated here by the capitalist media that democratic forms of rule are possible only under capitalist private property relations? NDPers have every interest in supporting such developments.

Yet NATO ranges Canadian and allied troops in Europe against the Czech regime, and in fact provides the Soviet bureaucracy with a convenient and plausible alibi for the continued maintenance of occupation forces in the Eastern European workers states — forces which were used to crush the nascent Czech movement for socialist democratization.

During the last federal election, NDP leader Douglas called for an end to what he called Canada's role as "chore boy for U.S. imperialism," and demanded that this country adopt a foreign policy independent of the U.S. State Department. How, then, can he and other NDP spokesmen continue to defend NATO, which is the keystone in the vast network of military, political and diplomatic alliances which U.S. imperialism has erected around the world to prop up its far-flung private investments?

The NDP has correctly condemned Canada's defense sharing agreements with the United States, by which arms and other strategic materials are shipped south to eventually find their way to Vietnam. But these agreements are all part of the same commitment to U.S. foreign policy objectives that is represented by Canada's continued membership in NATO.

At one time, CCF and NDP leaders tried to justify their defense of NATO with the claim that inside the alliance, Canada could beneficially "influence" the Pentagon

(See page 3)

. . . NATO

(Continued from page 1)

warhawks. More recently, they have implicitly acknowledged the bankruptcy of the argument that NATO can be basically reformed, counterposing the demand for a United Nations "peace" force as some sort of answer to existing U.S.-dominated military alliances.

In both instances, the argument is based on the naive and entirely wrong assumption that capitalist Canada, with its own considerable investments overseas, somehow has non-imperialist intentions. But Canadian armed forces participation in UN peacekeeping operations in Cyprus and the Mid-East have served only to preserve the imperialist status quo, preventing any resolution of those problems — and in the Congo, UN forces including a large Canadian contingent replaced the first legal government, oversaw the murder of Prime Minister Lumumba and ultimately caused Tshombe to resume his function as imperialist stooge.

A recent opinion poll revealed that while 67 percent of Canadians claimed to favor membership in NATO, only 52 percent said they had ever heard or read about it, and of these, 28 percent were unable to explain the purpose of the alliance. Clearly, NDP members have a big job to do in explaining the real character of NATO and the implications of Canada's membership in this nuclear alliance. If "confrontation politics" is going to mean anything, the NDP must immediately adopt a clearcut policy of outright opposition to NATO, and campaign vigorously in accordance with that policy.

#165

'New Approach in Labor Relations'?

Rail Unions Sellout

Some elements in the labor leadership have been screaming to high heaven recently about the imminent threat to the very existence of the trade unions posed by the Rand report and related government union-busting proposals. But as the recent settlement between the two major railways and eight non-operating rail unions shows, as big a danger facing the labor ranks today is the craven role of the so-called "leaders" who head up some of this country's most important unions. The terms of this deal show it to be nothing less than a sellout of the first order.

The proposed contract provides for a 13 percent wage increase over two years — far short of the railway workers' demands for a 32 percent increase. Even the minimal fringe benefits come nowhere near what the unions were seeking. This is especially obvious in the provisions dealing with the effects of layoffs due to technological change, a major issue in the railways. Judging from reports in the daily press — the only means by which railway workers have been informed of the settlement — negotiated retraining provisions don't apply to about half the employees, those with less than three years seniority. There is no proposed reduction in the work week.

This sellout was preceded by a messy little ritual, by now well-known to railway workers. The unions present their demands, the railways immediately label them "exhorbitant," and then the two parties sit back and wait, normally for months and months, for the federal government to intervene and force a settlement. Last time around, two years ago, this intervention took the form of compulsory arbitration by order of parliament after a week-long strike.

This year, there was a slight change in the plot. The government, sizing up the situation, quickly appointed a mediator — none other than Bill Kelly, former Canadian head of the Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen, who is now a top advisor to Liberal Labor Minister Mackasey.

The rail union leaders were overcome with delight. A typical reaction was that of Ed Finn, publicity director for the Canadian Brotherhood of Railway, Transport and General Workers. Finn, who in recent months has been playing his part in the negotiations "soap opera" by beating the drums for Mackasey as a "new look" labor minister, "clearly sympathetic to labor," now gurgled appreciatively that "rail peace hinges on Bill Kelly" — and the final act in the rail union tragedy began. A few days later, company, union and government negotiators alike emerged with what is being billed as the first railway agreement ever reached before the old contract expired. The wage terms alone are far worse than the eight percent per annum imposed by compulsory arbitration in 1966.

The ranks are not even being given an opportunity to vote on this proposed contract, with the exception of the CBRT locals. As the ratification vote in the CBRT is taking place, a leaflet is being distributed in some key locals across the country calling for rejection of the contract, and demanding that *all* railway workers be allowed to vote, to show what they think of this sweetheart deal. Without such a vote in all the unions concerned, even a massive rejection of the sell-out by the CBRT ranks will lead nowhere.

With a leadership like this, who needs the Rand report? No wonder Labor Minister Mackasey hailed the agreement with the comment: "It has convinced me that a bold new approach to solving our labor problems is possible without radical change in our existing legislation."

If there's anything "new" about this sellout, however, it lies entirely in the new stage in the craven capitulation of the railway union leaders, who surrendered without firing a shot.

THE WORKERS' VANGUARD

Editor: ROSS DOWSON
Managing Editor: DICK FIDLER

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Set by Union Labor.

LSA/LSO Leadership Holds Plenary Meet

More than 20 leading members of the League for Socialist Action/Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière from Vancouver to Montreal gathered in Toronto in early January for the plenum sessions of the LSA/LSO Central Committee.

Highlight of the two-day meeting was the organization report given by Ross Dowson, executive secretary of the LSA/LSO. He noted that the revolutionary socialists in this country face unprecedented opportunities for the growth in their cadre forces. A growing radical mood among broad sectors of the population has already found expression in the New Democratic Party ranks, where there is increasing interest in socialist ideas and activity. One result is the developing crisis of the NDP leadership, which is incapable of responding adequately to the radicalization in the membership. A new perspective for socialist action in the party is opening up for the next period.

The trade unions, long dominated by an entrenched reformist bureaucracy, have not yet reflected the new moods. If anything, the traditional labor leadership is becoming increasingly integrated into the apparatus of the capitalist state, but thereby more and more cut off from the rank and file. The absence of an immediate alternative leadership in the form of a viable left wing in the unions raises the prospect of a series of sharp, sudden explosions in key unions in the next period, out of which an organized left leadership can develop.

In the youth arena, the New Democratic Youth has turned its back to intervention in the student movement, and shown itself incapable of building a viable reformist youth movement.

While the mass organizations enter a period of growing polarization, potential and actual organizational opponents of the revolutionary socialists find themselves in continual crisis. The Communist party has recently suffered widespread defections reaching into its top leadership; and the badly-divided currents associated with Maoism have virtually disappeared as any factor in the left.

Members of the LSA/LSO have played important, sometimes key, roles in the struggles of the most recent period — the anti-war movement, the student struggle, the NDP socialist caucus, some strike situations — and the movement has grown accordingly. Since the convention last July, two new branches have been formed in southern Ontario.

To meet the new challenge opening up before the movement, the plenum voted to double the normal size of the *Workers Vanguard* to eight pages beginning this spring.

Gary Porter, executive secretary of the Young Socialists/Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes, reported on the progress of the revolutionary youth movement. Since September, Young Socialist clubs have been set up on over 12 campuses in English Canada. The highly successful Socialist Students Conference had demonstrated that only a revolutionary youth movement is capable of building a cross-country united socialist student organization, something which none of the other radical elements in the student leadership have succeeded in doing.

The movement's biggest growth of late has been registered in Quebec, and a report on the work of the French-Canadian revolutionary forces comprised a separate item on the agenda. The reported noted that the general situation in the Quebec labor movement is one of stalemate, symbolized by the defeat of the Liquor Board workers strike, a setback for the negotiations in the key civil service sector. The NDP provincial council has voted to recommend establishment of a provincial party to the party convention this spring, but there is little pressure in the ranks or the labor movement for forming a Quebec labor party.

The major actions recently have taken place outside the framework of the trade unions and parliamentary politics — namely, the student revolt and the mass movement for a unilingual school system, both of which challenge the basis of capitalist property and rule in Quebec. The very modest forces of the Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière and the Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes have participated actively in both these struggles. During the "October revolution" in the junior colleges, LJS membership doubled, and it doubled again during the by-election campaign in Bagot. There are Jeunes Socialistes in 25 schools and colleges in Montreal, it was reported, and several more outside the metropolitan area, as compared to three clubs in late September.

The plenum accordingly agreed on certain structural adaptations which are now being implemented by our Montreal forces to meet the big challenges before us. It was also decided to step up the publication of basic socialist literature in the French language.

The plenum also heard a report on the international socialist movement, and discussed documents to be voted on by the forthcoming world congress of the Fourth International.

WV #165 Jan. 13, 1968

REVIEW

Che Guevara

The actual staging of Mario Fratti's play *Che Guevara*, is tremendously effective. In taking up the challenge of such a play — a portrayal of the Cuba-famed revolutionist through the final days of the Bolivian guerrilla struggle he led and which ended in his tragic death — Toronto Workshop Productions continues to make a notable contribution to the development of serious theatre in Toronto, and we hope, should it find the means to take it on tour, to theatre across the country.

The single set transmits the harshness, the hostility of the jungle. The all-prevading threat of the CIA-trained pursuers of the guerrilla band is heightened by encounters — violent explosions of light and sound. The loud rock and roll music and the dancing between scenes (except for the final one following Che's death which strikes us as insensitive to the dramatic possibilities of the tragedy) create a spirit of youth, vitality and immediacy.

But this is a highly political play about a contemporary and controversial figure, inevitably giving weight to a position if not actually advancing one on the great controversies surrounding this figure — the armed struggle versus the parliamentary road to socialism on the Latin-American continent, the right or responsibility of revolutionists to participate in and even give leadership to the struggles of other peoples, the responsibilities of the workers states in this international class war. It is not only inevitable that this play be judged on political grounds, it is completely justifiable and even necessary to do so.

Unfortunately Fratti, who appears to have a certain sympathy for Guevara, has no understanding of him whatsoever, either as a man or as a revolutionist. Fratti doesn't even understand revolution — as is shown in part by the mechanical, torn out of context and irrelevant quotations from diverse revolutionary figures injected into the action by a guru-like figure seated on the sideline.

Che comes out as a wooden, empty and completely tragic figure (not at all the figure that is revered by youth right across the world). And the tragedy of Che and his band is not the betrayal of their struggle by the Bolivian Communist Party. The arguments of the Bolivian CP leader and then Tania against the whole struggle to which Che and his band have committed their lives evokes a strange and listless response from Che.

Whatever history decides as to the role of Tania, it is certain to have little relation to Fratti's interpretation. It is even painful to hear the two revolutionists express their love in fatuous words about women being gifts of heaven, and the timeless nature of men.

No doubt the play has been undergoing a process of drastic revisions since opening night. But what is needed is a complete rewriting of the whole characterization of Che. Perhaps Toronto Workshop Productions would consider inviting persons who have some understanding of the Latin American revolution and who know Che from his deeds and his words to attend a showing of the play. This would provide the opportunity from free wheeling consultation as to how to make Che live, and turn the whole play into a dynamic form of communication with the widest possible audience.

by P. Kent

Unable to Restrain Prices, Gov't Admits

THE WORKERS VANGUARD

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by P. Kent

Worried about prices? But of course! You didn't have to read the latest consumer price index tallied by the Dominion Bureau of Statistics to know that they are continuing to soar on and up. Yes, the index hit a new high again! Food prices and shelter costs carried it up to 158 — to more than 4 percent over the year — the biggest jump since the Korean war 18 years ago. It strikes you in the eye and slashes into your pay envelope every time you go shopping.

To be sure, we are not supposed to be worrying. Every level of government — Liberal and Tory, the economic advisers of the banks and trusts, the big real estate interests and even the giant food retailers and wholesalers are working hard on the problem.

They are even performing miracles. That's what Steinberg's, top supermarket chain in Quebec and Number Three in Ontario, are working on, right now. Across all of Ontario they are pulling down those giant signs that read Steinberg's, and replacing them with other signs that read Miracle Food Marts.

No one has come out of Steinberg's to hail the appearance of a miracle with regards to prices. In fact the financial pages cynically admit that it's Steinberg's response to its customers' desire to find discount and economy labels on goods, and to the latest gimmickry of its competitors, particularly Loblaws and its new president.

On December 10 the government's Canadian Consumer Council met for the first time. Perhaps you will remember it was set up by Consumer Affairs Minister Basford with the declared purpose of advising the government on ways to protect the consumer.

After an all day private session the council's chairman told the press, "The root cause of most consumers problems is lack of information." And with that he charged the council with two main tasks: prepare a declaration of consumers rights, which he conceded would have no legal authority, and undertake a special study of the prob-

(See page 2)

. . . 'War' on Prices

(Continued from page 1)

lems of low income consumers. "The poor have little idea of what consumer protective organizations exist, or what these can do to help them," he said.

The government's latest is the Price and Incomes Commission.

The White Paper defining its purpose specifically declares that it will not do what is at minimum necessary to be done about prices. While it is empowered to examine the business secrets of the great corporations which set the prices, it will do so behind closed doors and is prohibited from reporting information on specific price decisions, While it is necessary that the working people be brought right into the process of determining prices the White Paper specifies that the commission will not intervene in any process that determines prices.

The terms of reference of the commission are such that it is not only a confession of bankruptcy on the part of the government in so far as controlling prices. It is an abject confession that all the economic tools that it has at its disposal to control inflationary forces in the economy have proven to be utterly useless. As the editors of the *Toronto Star* noted on Dec. 27, "it is final, official acknowledgement that Canada has reached a critical turning point in the conduct of its economic affairs."

For some years now the opponents of socialism, of public ownership of the key sectors of the economy and its planning in the interests of the working people, not profits, have been claiming that thanks to concepts identified with Keynes and Galbraith the capitalist system can be made to work.

Prices rising? Too much money around, the theory goes. The banks are given the go-ahead to hoist interest rates. New taxes are imposed one on top of the other. Federal spending on such programs as winter works is cut down. The number of unemployed is consciously increased. To be sure, they concede, there will be some suffering. But it is in the public interest and at any rate only of a temporary character.

But, as the *Star* editors are forced to admit, "the economic pedal has been hard against the floor boards for the past two years. Yet prices have continued to surge forward."

"According to economic indicators the current cost spiral couldn't be checked completely without creating unemployment in the range of 8 to 12 percent. When the remedy is so clearly worse than the disease," they concede, "it's fair to say there is no remedy at all."

It is high time for the unions and the NDP, for the working people, to take action on their own against prices, against the whole inflationary system. Otherwise they will continue to pay the price they are now paying for the bankrupt capitalist system. And much more, as it drags humanity down with it.

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Set by Union Labor.

Trudeau Renews Ties To Nuclear Alliance

by the Editors

The Trudeau government took another step this month toward renewing Canada's long-term commitment to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization when Defense Minister Cadieux pledged this country to yet another year's membership in NATO, until January 1970, at the ministerial meeting in Brussels.

Cadieux' move put the lie to Prime Minister Trudeau who told the house Nov. 15 that "we can withdraw from NATO during the course of 1969 if we so decide; and the ships which have been committed to NATO, as in the case of the ground troops or the air troops, will follow the policy decision which is then made."

Trudeau had been trying to reassure opposition MPs that the government's announced cancellation of a planned reduction in Canada's European forces and its promise to supply costly new equipment at top priority to NATO did not commit us to continued membership in this nuclear-armed, U.S.-dominated alliance. But as NDP spokesman Harold Winch noted, ships now on order or under construction for NATO will not be available for **three** years! And this month's ministerial meeting, in which Canada participated, was devoted chiefly to ratifying force levels for the next **five** years. All of which makes us wonder — what secret commitments were entered into this time by the Canadian delegates in Brussels?

The decision to commit Canada to another year in NATO, which passed virtually unannounced in the daily press, is the third time in the past year that the Liberal government has made major military-political decisions without so much as even tipping its hat to the

(See page 3)

Out of NATO, Now!

(Continued from page 1)

formal rules of parliamentary democracy. In March, the Pearson government covertly committed Canada to participation in the costly radar network now being constructed by the U.S. in the North as part of its anti-ballistic missile (ABM) system. In April, as one of his last official acts, Pearson quietly renewed Canada's membership in the North American Air Defense system — despite the fact that a parliamentary committee was still reexamining NORAD amidst widespread public feeling that Canada should get out.

The NDP protested strongly — at least, in the House — when the decisions on the radar scheme and NORAD were so arbitrarily foisted on us. But we have looked in vain so far for its protest at Trudeau's latest move on NATO. Surely the party which has opposed aggression in Vietnam by demanding an embargo on arms sales and exports of strategic metals to the U.S. has no interest in seeing Trudeau and his accomplices commit us to continued membership in NATO — for 20 years the keystone of Canada's military-diplomatic complicity with U.S. imperialism.

The fateful issue of Canada's foreign policy, including NATO, is much too important to be left in the hands of a parliamentary committee, still less behind the closed doors of the Liberal cabinet and its hand-picked "advisers." The NDP and all Canadians concerned about the threat of nuclear war that is constantly posed by the NATO buildup in western Europe must campaign across the country against this dangerous new move by the Trudeau government to commit us even further to U.S. imperialism and its reactionary adventures around the world. We demand: Get out of NATO, now!

Cuba's Problems? Nothing Like Ours!

In a front-page interview with the *New York Times* on Jan. 5 Lyndon Johnson's house intellectual and policy planner Walt W. Rostow listed the most outstanding achievements of the Kennedy and Johnson administrations he had served under. Number 1 on his list was not the flight of Apollo 8 around the moon, as might have been expected, but something much more down to earth — the isolation of Cuba.

"First," he said, "we worked to isolate Castro . . . and managed to prevent the achievement of a guerrilla war base on the mainland of Latin America, which was — and remained — Castro's main objective. Some quiet preventive medicine was done here. . . ."

How the "isolation of Castro" works out in practice was illustrated in a press story published a couple of days after the Rostow interview. Carl Simmons, administrator of the St. Jude's Children's Research Hospital in Memphis, Tennessee, told reporters that a batch of anti-leukemia drugs airmailed on Dec. 30 to a five-year-old child in Cuba had been halted by U.S. postal authorities in Miami and returned to the hospital without explanation. The rare drugs had been sent in response to an appeal from Havana physician Dr. Hugo Benazet, whose daughter, Julia Marie, has leukemia.

The embargo on this drug shipment was in clear violation of Washington's assurances when it began its blockade of Cuba, that Cuba would still be free to purchase medical supplies in the U.S.

But the embargo has a logic of its own. Not even life-saving drugs can be exempted from the "isolate Castro" policy, which in large part involves attempting to demoralize the Cuban people by every means possible — from sheer physical deprivation through to direct sabotage of their economy.

And so Julia Marie faces death, a victim of free enterprise's desperate attempts to prove its superiority over planned economy.

This poignant and shocking incident underscores the hypocrisy and malicious dishonesty of the literally hundreds of reports and analyses in the North American press these days purporting to show that the problems of the Cuban economy — the shortages, the rationing, etc. — are somehow a direct consequence of Cuba's efforts to build a rational planned economy based on public enterprises. Few reports even mention the real source of Cuba's problems, the U.S. blockade which has done inestimable damage in a country that only ten years ago was entirely dependent on U.S. industry and trade. The remarkable thing is that Cuba has been able to accomplish so much in these ten years — surely eloquent testimony to the powers of the same planned economy that the blockade is cynically designed to discredit.

Yes, Cuba has problems — but it's worth keeping in mind that those problems derive mainly from the machinations of North American capitalism, the profit system.

In Canada, with its vast natural and human resources, without a paralyzing economic blockade, that same profit system has caused some pretty formidable problems, too — like 41 percent of the population living in conditions of poverty or near-poverty, by the government's own figures.

That's one statistic that doesn't apply in Cuba.

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TK166

'Year of City Hall'

NDP Toronto Slate?

by Anne Macdonald

Long-standing resolutions calling on the NDP to contest municipal elections are finally being taken seriously in the Ontario section of the party. Preparations are under way in the Toronto area to field an NDP slate in the elections this fall.

The recently re-activated Toronto Area Council is encouraging ridings to look for candidates and to set up the necessary election machinery. It is hoped that a policy convention will be held within a few months to provide the candidates with the necessary platform.

The January issue of the Ontario *New Democrat* is devoted to the theme: "1969: The Year of City Hall." Articles point out that it is at the municipal level that the NDP can most effectively popularize its position on such issues as the housing crisis. The last provincial convention sketched in some basic approaches to these questions — such as the excellent resolution calling for massive public housing, to be provided at a cost of not more than 20 percent of the tenant's income, and to be under the control of tenants. But the program needs rounding out, to take in such questions as citizens control of the police, welfare policies, goals for urban planning, etc.

Former provincial secretary Des Morton writes that a serious NDP campaign can bring about "a revolution in municipal government," but he also warns of the mistake of supporting unpledged candidates who "happened to be New Democrats," some of whom have turned out in office to be "narrow-minded reactionaries, people who would shame some of (Premier) John Robarts' neanderthal backbenchers."

New Democratic activists will be especially concerned with seeing that the party fields a full slate of candidates for every position up to and including mayor. The *New Democrat* ignores this question — but surely an effective slate of candidates which poses the possibility of power is necessary if the NDP is to present itself as a serious force to the electorate.

A serious municipal campaign in Toronto and other Ontario cities with a strong labor movement can provide an example to the party right across the country. It can also help put an end to "liberal-labor" politics and support of independent "friends of labor" that have proved so often — most recently, in Vancouver — to be nothing but a trap for the labor movement in municipal politics.

Hellyer's Censure Only Makes Case For Public Housing

by P. Kent

While there is very little public housing anywhere in the country, and no level of government is so much as even talking about building any, the main thrust of the report of Transport Minister Hellyer's task force on housing is its attack on public housing!

Even the few concrete proposals that the report does contain will do little or nothing to bring the price of housing down to the means of the average working class family. According to Ontario's Trade and Development Minister Stanley Randall the report doesn't suggest much that his Tory government is not already doing. "As far as Ontario is concerned, many things they recommend we are already doing," he said.

Hellyer's report urges that the maximum National Housing Act mortgage be increased, this time from the present limit of $18,000 to $30,000, and the amortization period be extended, this time from the present maximum of 35 years to 40 years. The government has been acting off and on along this line for some 25 years — and it has produced no homes for working class families. It is generally conceded that this proposal, should the government act upon it, would result in the minimum price per house rising to $30,000 — with monthly mortgage and tax payments taking it completely out of reach of the average worker, who bears the brunt of the housing shortage.

The bulk of Hellyer's proposals are merely rephrasings of the standard demands of the real estate speculators, the financial institutions and the building suppliers.

Every shortcoming in the Regent Park projects, some of them imposed on the planners by the same interests that oppose public housing today, such as the location, the lack of space and recreational facilities, is grist to the campaign. That the social and economic ills of individual families in the project have not been solved with their being in better housing than their income would obtain on the free capitalist market, is also a fault attributed to public housing.

The attack has been so sweeping and vicious that the editors of the Toronto *Globe and Mail*, long-standing opponents of public housing, have felt called upon to express "an excruciating disappointment" over "the facile and at times uninformed way" the report deals with public housing.

In an editorial of Feb. 3 they pulled out of their files a report on Toronto's Regent Park project prepared in 1958 by the Toronto School of Social Work on the changes that occurred in that com-

(See page 2)

THE WORKERS VANGUARD

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. . . Housing Report

(Continued from page 1)

mūnity in the 10 years between the time that the same families moved from slum houses into the public housing project that replaced them. The report is a stunning testimony to the beneficial effect that even a modest change in the immediate (not overall) environment can have in the mental and physical health of human beings.

In the face of the attack, a group of Toronto and Ottawa sociologists, urban planners and social workers have come to re-think some of their current concepts. Instead of dumping public housing because of the widely publicized tenants complaints, they have suggested that tenants be given greater if not complete control over the projects.

Ironically, the federal government's assault against public housing does not come when there is any massive organized pressure for it. The NDP leadership has for some time dropped this demand from the party's program. The recent Ontario NDP convention, it is true, has reversed this process — but so far, in words only.

By his crude and hysterical campaign, however, this federal government minister has raised the matter of public housing to everyone's attention. The extreme poverty of the report's alternatives has posed housing, publicly financed and run by its tenants, as a proposition to be seriously considered.

An effective campaign for massive public housing projects across the country can win the NDP broad support and bring it to power so it can take this necessary first step to solve the housing question.

THE WORKERS VANGUARD #167 Feb. 10, 1969

Opportunist Tendency Resigns from League

by Ross Dowson

Executive secretary, League for Socialist Action/Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière

A struggle that has been in process for well over a year, mainly in the Vancouver branch of the League for Socialist Action and the Young Socialists local, reached one culmination point early last September with the resignation of Allan Engler and Jean Rands. It has now been finally resolved with the resignation of several other Vancouver members.

The latest resignations took place when the League declared that any of the 114 Simon Fraser University student activists, now before the Vancouver courts, who hold membership in the LSA or are in political solidarity with it must reject out of hand any proposal from any source whatsoever that they should plead guilty to any of the charges that have been laid against them.

According to Ed Wong, in his column in the January 22 Simon Fraser paper *The Peak*, "the 114 is now pondering an offer from the prosecuting attorney. The deal is that the 114 enter a plea of guilty and in return the charges will be lowered to a misdemeanor."

Those who resigned from the LSA rejected the firm and principled position decided upon by the LSA which considers any such deal to plead guilty to be a rotten capitulation before capitalist pressure and a betrayal of the student movement now under a vicious legal assault right across the country.

The opportunist position that those who resigned hold on this matter is only a logical development of the opportunist positions that they have been attempting to foist on the revolutionary socialist LSA/LSO and YS/LJS over the past nine or ten months.

Mainly recent recruits from the student milieu, they began to question some of the League's basic positions, to show an increasing reluctance to promote its views and identify with it, and finally to refuse to accept the democratically arrived at discipline of the movement.

Early last November, with the publication of a statement which was circulated freely through the ranks of the movement, they constituted themselves as a tendency. At that time they stated that they rejected the Rands-Engler "assessment of the LSA" and stated that they in no way shared "their organizational perspective," expressing "the need for a concerted attack on the ideas and arguments of Rands and Engler."

Their statement, however revealed that they rejected any concept of serious work for a socialist policy in the New Democratic Party constituency associations, and any serious attempt to build a mass anti-Vietnam war movement in Canada. In place of a strategy based on an application of its Marxist theory and an analysis of the objective situation, they urged the movement to decide on various developments on their "individual merits."

The LSA and YS made every effort to pass on to these youth the experiences of the revolutionary socialist movement. In the face of their disagreement it carried on a free wide-open exchange of views in an extended pre-convention and convention discussion. When they constituted themselves as a tendency the discussion continued within the framework of the movement implementing the decisions of the convention. Now they have refused to act upon the democratically arrived at positions of the movement and have themselves ended the discussion. The LSA and YS has been further steeled by this experience.

THE WORKERS
VANGUARD

#168 Feb. 24, 1969

Socialists in Debate With NDP Official

John Harney, provincial secretary of the Ontario NDP, and Bob Wright, federal candidate in Welland, were the keynote speakers in a recent discussion on "the role of the Socialist Caucus in the NDP" at a caucus meeting in Toronto.

Harney admitted that the party has failed to present a clear programmatic alternative to the old-line capitalist parties. But this lack of clarity, he claimed, was a necessary part of "finding its electoral base," presumably the working class. He attacked the left for raising "divisive" criticisms of the NDP program.

Bob Wright, however, pointing to the British Labor Party debacle under Harold Wilson, warned that the NDP too could lose its reason for being in its striving for "acceptance" at any cost.

In the ensuing discussion Helen Olson, a member of the caucus steering committee, noted that last year's federal elections and the NDP's losses to Trudeaumania exposed the limitations of its "relentless pragmatism," as Stephen Lewis called it. She said that in the process the party leadership had failed to educate both the electorate and the party as to the real nature of the capitalist system, and flowing from this, the need for a socialist alternative. It was the Socialist Caucus which had taken up this vital task in formulating and propagating a socialist program. She challenged the party to make use of the increasing possibilities open to it by confronting the system with a socialist alternative both in action and words.

The audience of about 40 also used the opportunity to express their concern in the party's future, urging more active participation in current issues such as the anti-Vietnam war movement. Clearly stung by some of the remarks, Harney responded: "You keep asking the party to do things for you; should you not think instead of what you can do for the party"?

Don Oman, Caucus treasurer, set the record straight. Contrary to what Harney suggested, he said, Caucus supporters were always among the most active members of the party. He pointed to the municipal elections scene as an example of how caucus supporters were simply asking the party leadership to follow the party's own expressed policy, by giving the ridings stronger encouragement and assistance to implement that policy.

CAMPAIGNING WITH THE NDP

* * * *

The Ontario Young New Democrats convention Feb. 2-3 reflected the growing radicalization of student youth in Canada. The presence of a considerable number of high school students injected a militant tone into the conference.

The convention, attended by 125 young people, adopted resolutions supporting the 114 arrested students at Simon Fraser University; the students at the Regina campus of the University of Saskatchewan who are fighting administration attempts to suppress their student newspaper; and the organization of high school students in Ontario protesting an extension of the school year. They also voted to endorse and participate in the April 6 International Day of Protest, and sent a telegram of support to the Vietnam Mobilization Committee conference meeting in Toronto that same weekend.

A literature table set up by members of the Young Socialists/Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes, Canada's only bi-national socialist youth movement, sold $45 worth of socialist and revolutionary literature. Many delegates proudly sported "Viva Che" buttons purchased from the YS.

For all its resolutions of solidarity with student actions across Canada, the YND has yet to adopt a clear orientation toward the student radicalization. Young Socialist spokesman Arnie Mintz, in bringing fraternal greetings to the conference, stressed that if a youth organization like the YND is to be relevant, it must seek to build the student movement by actively intervening in all its struggles around a revolutionary program.

(A.M.)

THE WORKERS
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Editor: ROSS DOWSON
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Set by Union Labor.

The Sir George Affair:
Feb 24/69 #168
Let's Hear the Truth!

by the Editors

The destruction of an expensive computer during the police breakup of the student sit-in at Sir George Williams University has unleashed a fierce campaign of repression against the 97 students arrested.

For administration, courts and press alike, the students are already guilty. They have been charged with serious criminal offenses, some carrying penalties of life imprisonment. They have been refused bail. They are being held incommunicado, and their court appearances are closed to the public. Foreign nationals have been threatened with deportation. The university has suspended all 97 students until their court cases are decided. Meanwhile, the capitalist press has seized on the arrests as an unprecedented opportunity to whip up a barrage of propaganda against not only the Sir George students, but the whole student movement.

These attacks lack nothing in hypocrisy. The same capitalist politicians who deplore the student militants' "disrespect for free speech," in the very next breath demand an investigation of their political backgrounds. The same newspapers that denounce student "violence" print editorials demanding that the cops be called immediately the next time students sit-in anywhere for whatever cause. (Which doesn't prevent them from attacking "outside agitators" and student militants in the next paragraph for destroying the "traditional autonomy" of the university.) The same reactionary voices who denounce the students for "taking the law into their own hands" have already acted as prosecution, judge and jury in finding the 97 Sir George Williams students guilty — as they previously found the 114 Simon Fraser University students guilty — of the crimes charged against them by the state. They deplore the destruction of a piece of machinery — but overlook

(See page 3)

Full Inquiry Needed

(Continued from page 1)

the destructive moral and psychological violence implicit in the administration's provocative refusal for many months to investigate the black students' serious complaints of racial discrimination, and its failure to even consult them on their entirely legitimate demands.

A common theme runs like a red thread through all these attacks — that the students, all students and not just the militant leaders — are irresponsible, immature, incapable of managing their own lives, let alone the universities. This is the rationale for repression, the sort of repression being levelled against campus dissidents right across the country.

We reject the slander that ultimate responsibility for violence like that at Sir George Williams lies with the students. Revolutionary socialists who support the student movement unconditionally reserve the right to evaluate the tactics of student radicals from the critical standpoint of whether those tactics serve to advance or retard the growth of political consciousness among the student masses.

But that is not the principal issue in the SGWU affair. For it is obvious to any rational observer that the black students at Sir George and their white supporters were provoked almost to the breaking point by the arrogant obstinacy of an administration which for ten months and up to the very moment of the police attacks refused to act on the students' complaints of racism. That fact alone requires that all the charges against the students be dropped.

But what actually did happen on Feb. 11, the day of the police raid and the computer burning? We know that during the two-week occupation the students had formed defense guards to protect the computer, and kept students out of the room where it was housed. The possibility of provocateurs cannot be ruled out.

The arrested students can't possibly get a fair hearing in the courts, which have placed the onus of guilt on them by refusing bail. A full investigation is required, an independent commission of inquiry under student initiative, which will examine not just this incident but the whole history of the Sir George affair.

Such an investigation would be the first step in building an effective defense campaign, which can do much to demonstrate the basic political maturity and responsibility of the student movement, and thereby win a better understanding in the population at large of the justness of their cause.

The Real 'Fraud' was The Conference Itself

This year's constitutional conference was much like last year's. It started off with the usual clichés and high-sounding phrases which alternate between hopes for the glorious future of Canada, and warnings that its very survival is at stake. And it ended predictably, with every two-bit Liberal, Tory and Socred provincial "statesman" exposed as a grasping small-time politician seeking no more than a bigger share of the federal budgetary "pie."

More revealing than the non-events under the kleig lights were the off-stage commentaries. The former prime ministers were asked their views. "While the personnel are different today, the discussions remain the same," said Lester Pearson. "The speeches are the same as when I was in there," Diefenbaker commented.

To be fair, there was one change. When Premier Robarts lashed out at the medicare "fraud," Prime Minister Trudeau calmed him with the reassurance: "You will never have another medicare. We are resolved to mend our ways." The *Globe and Mail* editors saw this as an indication of Ottawa's new understanding and sympathy for provincial "needs." Robarts, who said he does not give health insurance a high priority, though. Trudeau's promise of no more federal welfare schemes "alone makes the whole thing (the conference) worth it."

This is not to say there aren't real issues behind the annual confrontation of the provinces and the federal government. Problems like regional disparities of income and opportunity, the French-Canadian national question, etc. But these problems are rooted in the entire capitalist structure of the country; and they can only be resolved through anti-capitalist measures which will introduce a rational planned economy based on public ownership of the major industries.

The gap between need and reality was illustrated best perhaps by Trudeau's chief submission — his language bill. While he spoke of guaranteeing the rights of French-speaking minorities outside Quebec, in Quebec itself the French majority's language rights were coming under direct attack in the form of the Quebec government's Bill 85, guaranteeing the privileges of the English minority.

In the end, like last year, everything was shoved off into innumerable committees for "further study," and the Toronto *Star* was able to sum it up as "an illusion of modest progress." An "illusion" it may have been, for some, but "progress" it certainly wasn't.

THE WORKERS VANGUARD #168 Feb. 24, 1969

Think It Over

by Ross Dowson

Just What is the Enemy?

Everyone is looking to youth — that is, everyone who has any real understanding of our times and any confidence in the future. Certainly socialists who have been swimming against the stream for many years now are inspired by the developing critical mood in the youth of North America, their questioning of everything, their searching and probing, their idealism, their willingness to struggle.

Any one, any movement that does not respond to this challenge, that fails to make contact with these developing forces, is doomed.

But if this connection is to be fruitful, it is necessary to fuse youthful idealism, this will to struggle, with the experience of the past.

In Quebec, where national consciousness has lent a new dynamic to the class struggle, the recent rash of terror bombings has underscored the urgent need to fuse the lessons of the past with the will to struggle of the present. But not just in Quebec. There is a need on all the campuses.

In Toronto we have student leaders who demonstrate a lofty indifference to defense of the 114 Simon Fraser defendants and who think it is not at all necessary to place responsibility for the destruction of the computer at Sir George Williams on the dead-end policy of the administration and the police assault on the students. They proclaim proudly that "property is going to have to be attacked at all levels, not just the computers in university buildings but everywhere." All this in a pretense of knowledge of Marxism-Leninism — sometimes actually in its name.

On the contrary Marxism-Leninism was forged in the struggle against the terroristic act, both against individuals of the ruling circle and against property — in fact every revolution, the Russian, the Chinese, the Cuban and even the Vietnamese had to overcome this stage in order to succeed.

By 1909 — 8 years prior to the October revolution — Trotsky could write that "terrorism in Russia is dead . . . is already a part of the heritage of history.

Bolsheviks reject sabotage and terror as a method of struggle on several important counts.

The power of the ruling class, the capitalist state, rests neither on buildings and equipment nor on individuals, no matter their particular attributes. The class whose interests the state serves always finds new men and new materials to serve its interests. Thus such actions stand condemned first by their powerlessness to achieve what their practioners anticipate.

Such incidents serve as a useful pretext for the state, under the guise of protecting the public from actions that endanger even passersby, to launch a far-reaching assault on any and all opponents.

But even more — such actions distract the revolutionary class from coming to grips with the essential nature of the problem — that it is the system, a vastly complicated organism with tremendous substitutive and recuperative capacities, that has to be overcome.

Terrorist work, as Trotsky relates in his writings of 1909, "demands such a concentration of energy upon the 'supreme moment,' such an overestimation of personal heroism and lastly, such an hermetically concealed conspiracy as . . . excluded completely any agitational and organizational activity amongst the masses."

To what end are the endeavors of the class struggle, Trotsky asks, if through such simple acts we can achieve our goal? If such minimal material and preparations are capable of solving the problem, where is the need of a class organization? What is the need of meetings, mass agitation, election campaigns? Such individual acts are inadequate precisely because they lower the masses in their own consciousness, reconcile them to impotence and direct their glances and hopes towards the avenger and emancipator who will some day come and accomplish his mission.

Contact us

to know what socialists are doing in your community

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TORONTO. League for Socialist Action, 1 Cumberland St., Toronto 5, Ont. 922-6665.
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VANCOUVER. League for Socialist Action, 1208 Granville St., Vancouver 2, B.C. 688-5924.

Workers' Vanguard #169 - March 10, 1969

An Oppressed Nation

Behind Quebec's Revolt

What lies behind the struggle for a French-only school system in Quebec, the explosive and revolutionary character of Quebec strikes such as that against Domtar last fall, the ferment that produces and reproduces powerful nationalist currents, and thrusts idealistic youth into acts of terror bombings?

The following material, culled from a series of articles that appeared last October in the Montreal daily *La Presse*, gives a clear insight into these processes. The articles were the essence of the as yet unpublished 3rd and 4th chapters of the report of the federal government's Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism. The writer of the series has been harassed by the RCMP for refusing to disclose her sources for the leaked commission material which is slated to undergo a "final preparation" before being officially presented sometime later this year.

In a nutshell, the study demonstrates that French Canada is an oppressed nation within confederation and that the source of this oppression is the domination of its economy by foreign capital — English Canadian and U.S. The cultural, educational, linguistic discrimination, which it so vividly reveals, stems from this basic economic oppression and serves to reinforce it.

For instance, the report shows that Quebec economy suffers many of the classic distortions that colonial countries suffer at the hands of imperialist powers. French Canadian business establishments are small, produce little, pay low salaries and are concentrated in raw materials, whereas U.S. and English capital is large, has high productivity, pays better salaries (but not as good as elsewhere in Canada) and accounts for 95 percent of the province's total exports. It dominates the modern processing industry.

How does the domination of foreign capital affect the French Canadian? The commission found that he works for bosses who import highly paid administrators and technicians, and only hire French Canadians for the low-paying dirty work; bosses who discount French Canadian education, whose knowledge of French exhausts itself at "bonjour and bonsoir," and demand knowledge of English as a prerequisite for promotion and even employment.

Over one-third of the French-speaking people in Canada are blue collar workers concentrated at the bottom of the occupational scale and under-represented in the better paying sectors of professionals and administrators. In Quebec, and especially Montreal, they are even less present proportionally in these sectors and since 1930 have lost ground in the professions.

"The higher the position, the more Anglophones there are," notes the commission. It found that as soon as one passes from the category of hourly paid workers, to administration, the proportion of French Canadians drops from two-thirds to one-third, the latter mainly foremen. In the highest administration the proportion of French Canadians drops to one in seven. In Montreal where the work force is 60 percent French Canadian, English-speaking personnel hold 63 percent of the administrative posts and 83 percent of the jobs paying over $12,000.

The doors of high administration and technology remain largely closed to French Canadians. Qualified French Canadian technicians and administrators are forced out of the key and high-paying sectors of the economy into government and public service.

"It is often claimed that French Canadian culture has a strong prejudice unfavorable to the materialism of science and industry . . ." However, says the commission, recent studies show that both French and English Canadians attach the same value to a career in industry and big business.

Aside from downright discrimination ("It cannot be doubted for a moment that there are cases of flagrant discrimination; We have too much first hand testimony which proves that people have been rejected simply because they were French-speaking Canadians") the French Canadian may face a series of preliminary conditions which are exceptionally hard for him. He (1) must possess perfect English; (2) accept being moved out of Quebec; (3) must function inside the business in the same way as his English colleagues — that is, think and act in English.

In distribution of incomes it is again very clear that the French Canadian population is an economically oppressed nation within Canada. In Canada as a whole French Canadian incomes are only 80 percent as high as English Canadian incomes. And in Quebec they are only 60 percent as high.

Does lack of education account for the disparity between English and French Canadian jobs and incomes? No, says the commission. It is true that French Canadian are less educated than any ethnic group in Canada execpt the Italians — one English Canadian out of eight, one French Canadian out of sixteen and one Italian out of thirty-two, goes to university. That corresponds to the hierarchy of incomes. No education, no job; no job, no education. But even with equal education the French Canadian will still earn less than his English counterpart. Equal education reduces the differences between English and French incomes by slightly less than half. The other half of the disparity is explained solely by the fact of being French Canadian, and is sharper in Montreal than elsewhere.

For the first time an official, scientific study confirms that bilingualism is one-way, and the working language is English, — facts well known to French Canadians.

In secondary industry in Quebec (Montreal excepted), where 76 percent of the work force is French-speaking, 96 percent of the French administrators are required to speak English. Only 59 percent are required to speak French. In Montreal more than 60 percent earning over $5,000 are English and only 14 percent of them must be bilingual. In contrast 78 percent of the French must speak English.

English is the language of the "job which pays." But even among blue collar workers the working language is English because the daily communication between departments, memos, training manuals, graphs, etc., are generally unilingual English. An "anomalous situation," the commission calls this injustice which forces a large number of French workers to learn English to accommodate the boss.

What of the future? The commission sees only more of the same. "One can certainly predict that the businesses will tend to improve the knowledge of English among their employees rather than give French a choice place in the high administration . . . it appears that the advantage for an Anglophone in learning French is only an abstract value, symbolic of good faith and 'good intentions' while for a Francophone the fact of learning English is a vital question necessary in the exercise of his profession. The administrators consider that because of the pressure of the business world of North America English will remain the dominant language of work, even in the Francophone regions of Canada."

This inequality between the "equal partners" has worsened in 30 years and will only be aggravated as the economy expands, as the demand for highly skilled and specialized manpower increases — unless the root cause of this oppression — the foreign domination of the French Canadian nation — economically and therefore politically and culturally, is removed.

In fact, only a mass mobilization of the French Canadian workers organized and determined to eliminate the exploitation of Quebec by foreign capital and to abolish the system that feeds on the resulting poverty, unemployment and discrimination will remove the basic causes of the national oppression. Only the socialist revolution will enable the French Canadian nation to stand on its own feet and establish a free and equal relationship with the rest of Canada.

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Where is U.K. Labor Party Going?

What is the condition of the British Labor Party after four years of Harold Wilson's government, and what can Britain socialists do about it?

The editors of *International*, a British monthly magazine which reflects the views of the International Marxist Group, the British supporters of the Fourth International, provide an incisive analysis of these important questions in their February issue.

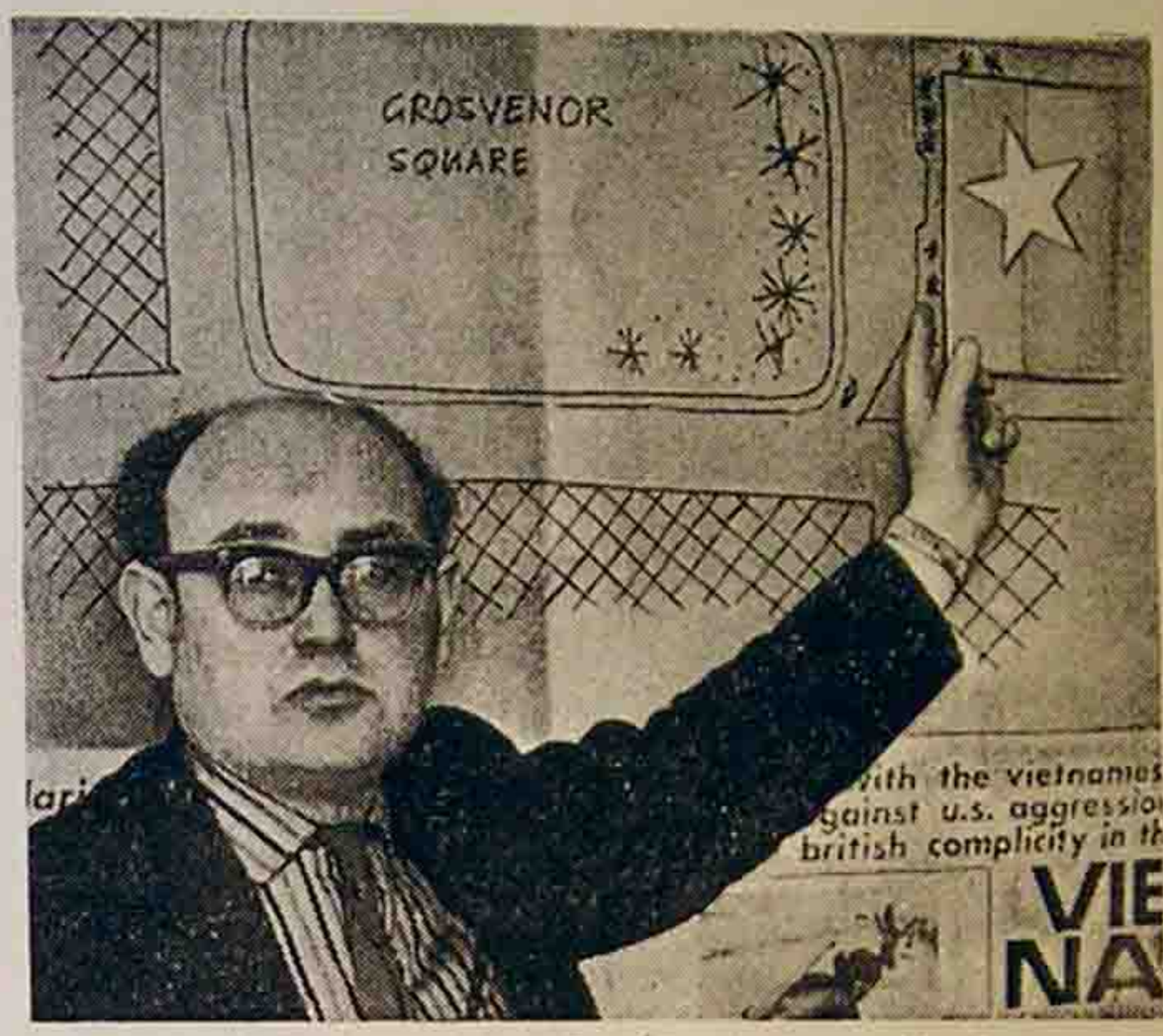
"During 1968," they note, "the Wilson government has continued quite unashamedly on its course of acting as the savior of British capitalism." Its "continual attacks on living standards" of the British working people, "from the savage post-devaluation cuts to the latest niggardly economies on school meals and the failure to control in any way rises in rents, prices, etc.," and now its restrictive Incomes Policy, "have continued to alienate more and more sections of its traditional support." Wilson's sellout in Rhodesia and his support of NATO and U.S. policy in Vietnam, complete the picture internationally.

The resulting disastrous drop in Labor's electoral support "has been reflected in increasing decay and disillusionment within its ranks," *International* comments. "No figures for *active* membership exist, but an optimistic figure of 100 per constituency would give a total of 63,000 — fewer people than participated in the October Vietnam Mobilization."

The average age of the party membership has increased; "a large number of those who remain are either die-hard loyalists or blatant careerists." The Young Socialists (Labor party youth group) has "declined appreciably." Most significant, "at the Conference this year, in spite of the crushing defeats suffered by the platform, there was no sign of an organized fight from the left." The resolutions reflected the "extremely low political level in the party . . . At the moment dismay and disillusionment at the government's performances are more common than criticism from a coherent standpoint."

The leadership's contempt for conference resolutions makes it clear that they no longer feel any need to make even gestures to rank and file wishes,

(See page 3)



BRITISH SOCIALIST LEADER. Pat Jordan, national secretary of the International Marxist Group and an editor of International. Jordan was one of the organizers of last October's giant anti-war march of 100,000 in London called by the Vietnam Solidarity Campaign.

...The Road Ahead for British Left

(Continued from page 1)

let alone try to appease the membership.

However, if the Labor party finds itself disarmed by the Wilson leadership's treachery, a "big growth of opposition to the government" is nonetheless developing "right outside the traditional political channels." This non-party opposition, *International* explains, takes the form of "the single issue campaigns developing around support for the Vietnamese revolution, Student Power, etc. The young people involved are frequently completely contemptuous of the Labor party and of anyone involved in it. This is a fundamentally healthy attitude on their part which indicates a thorough-going revolutionary attitude."

Such campaigns, the *International* editors point out, "are the most important developments of the sixties in revolutionary politics."

Does this development, then, signify that socialists should turn their backs on work within and around the Labor party? *International* firmly rejects that interpretation of the party's decline.

"Many sectarian groupings have seen this as a positive sign that the working class has turned away from its allegiance to social democracy. In reality if this were indeed the case we would have seen the most thorough-going fight within the Labor movement in which the Left would have sought to prevent Wilson from taking over entirely the party machine."

". . . At present there is no perspective for the development of a mass revolutionary party outside of the traditional working class movement. Of all such social democratic political formations the British Labor Party is the one which has the most closely knit ties with the organized working class. At both local and national level the trade unions play a major role in the party. This means that any political movement amongst trade unionists rapidly finds reflection in debate in the Labor party. The views of the Communist party's industrial militants for instance gain expression here. It is not excluded of course that the Wilson government's behavior may become so intolerable to the mass of trade unionists that their disgust will be expressed through the disaffiliation of their unions. For the time being, however, there is absolutely no indication of this possibility being realized."

International points out that Labor has in the past achieved "miraculous" comebacks from "absolutely disastrous" electoral defeats — most notably in the 1930's. "We cannot discount the residual strength possessed by the Labor party — a strength which derives in large part from illusions perpetuated by its continuing organic links with the trade union movement."

What does the crisis in the British Labor party mean for the long-term perspectives of the revolutionary socialists? The complete failure of the traditional Labor party left wing and the "left" trade union leadership to wage any serious fight against the Wilson leadership has invalidated the expectation once held by British Marxists, including the editors of *International*, that a split of major proportions would develop within the party following the formation of the Wilson government. They explain why this perspective failed to materialize:

"(1) We failed to appreciate that at a time of such crisis for capitalism and consequent cul de sac (dead end) for reformism only those who had been able to make an ideological break with capitalism would be able to chart a way forward.

"(2) We overestimated the sensitivity of the constituency Labor parties to government betrayals and underestimated the strength of loyalty to the leadership.

"(3) We did not take into account the possibility of such a tremendous radicalization outside of the traditional channels as occurred around Vietnam, the student question, nationalism, etc."

It is precisely this growing mass radical movement, however, that will inevitably over-flow into the trade union movement, and through the unions, into the Labor party. The most likely variant remains the prospect of an eventual struggle within the Labor party of a new left wing based on the trade unions against the entrenched right wing bureaucracy and its spokesmen in the present government and the parliamentary party. Thus, the *International* editors affirm, "Our long-term perspective for the emergence of a mass revolutionary party remains a split in the ranks of social democracy involving, necessarily in Britain, a really significant section of the trades union movement."

The importance of working to bring about a mass revolutionary wing in the labor movement was underlined by the recent revolt in France. As *International* notes significantly: "It was the virtue of the various revolutionary groupings that they were able to initiate the revolution in May, but only the workers' movement could complete the process. The stranglehold of Stalinism and social democracy at this level ensured a stillbirth."

THE WORKERS
VANGUARD

Vol. 13, No. 13 (169) March 10, 1969 Toronto — 10 Cents

8-Page Vanguard is Target of Fund Drive

by the Editors

Are you tired of the lies you get every day in the daily newspapers — the distortions and even just the ordinary half-truths?

Here's your chance to do something about it, by contributing to the campaign to double the size of the *Vanguard* to 8 pages beginning on May 1st. With this issue, we are launching the annual La Lutte-Vanguard Publications Drive. This year, we're out for the biggest target ever — $13,000. That's how much we must raise in the next two months if we are to see our way clear to publishing an 8-page *Vanguard* on a regular twice-monthly basis.

The special insert in this issue highlighting episodes from the history of our English-language socialist press gives some idea of the importance of our publications fund. But that's only part of the story. The money we raise also goes to aid the production of our sister publication in Quebec, *La Lutte Ouvrière*, which during last year expanded to a printed magazine from its previous mimeographed format. A future issue of the *Vanguard* will feature articles on our French-language press — a story in itself.

In addition, we published last year a number of pamphlets: Vive le Québec Libre, the LSA/LSO position on Quebec and the National Question (in French and English editions); the LSA/LSO brief to the Royal Commission on the Status of Women; and documents on Czechoslovakia and Canada-U.S. Relations.

This year, however, our big objective is to build a firm financial base under the *Workers Vanguard* sufficient to sustain it as an 8-page twice-monthly. We have long felt the inadequacy of a 4-pager. Last year, we extended ourselves in publishing several 8-page issues using copy from the U.S. socialist weekly *The Militant*, during the powerful upsurges in France and Czechoslovakia.

Now, with the growing radicalization in the student movement, the opportunities opening up for socialist intervention in the NDP, and the growing ferment in the labor movement, we feel a qualitative expansion of our paper is nothing less than a political necessity. In addition to increased coverage of news developments, we plan to brighten the paper by using more pictures, adding columns and — most important — carrying more educational articles analyzing problems facing militants in the labor and socialist movement.

We'll be talking more about this in future issues. But meanwhile, we need money. The success of the drive depends on you, our readers, our only source of funds. Help us build the *Vanguard* and *La Lutte Ouvrière*. This is your chance to become a newspaper publisher in your own right — a publisher of the press that counts, the workers' press.

THE WORKERS
VANGUARD

Vol. 13, No. 13 (169) March 10, 1969 Toronto — 10 Cents

Agitator, teacher, historian -the role of the socialist press

Our 48 years in labor's fight for a better world

The impressive sequence of newspaper mastheads arrayed on the right hand side of this page represents a continuing tradition of revolutionary socialist journalism in Canada which extends over the past 48 years.

The *Workers Vanguard* traces its origins right back to *The Workers' World*, organ of the Canadian communists, which first appeared on Aug. 17, 1921. Among the prominent contributors to this weekly paper, which subsequently became *The Workers' Guard*, then *The Worker*, were such leading communist spokesmen as Maurice Spector, Jack Macdonald, Jack Kavanagh and Max Armstrong. All four subsequently became leading figures in the Trotskyist movement, and defended the revolutionary Marxist program against the bureaucratic degeneration of the Communist party under Stalinist domination.

Spector, who was editor of *The Worker* during much of the 1920's, was the first editor of *The Vanguard*, established in 1932 as the organ of the International Left Opposition (Trotskyist) of Canada. *The Vanguard* published on a more or less regular basis until 1936. It was followed in 1938 by *Socialist Action*, organ of the Socialist Workers League, which was first mimeographed, then printed until the outbreak of war in September 1939 when it was banned by government decree. *Socialist Action* continued to publish underground in mimeographed form during the war.

The first issue of *Labor Challenge*, the organ of the Revolutionary Workers Party, appeared legally near the end of the war, in June 1945. Soon after, it became a twice-monthly, and published as such for five years until reverting to a monthly. In 1952, it was discontinued while its supporters entered the CCF, where they participated in publishing a number of left wing bulletins. In late 1955 the *Workers Vanguard* began publication, and has appeared regularly since then, first as a monthly, and during the last year and half as a twice-monthly. This spring we are aiming to double its size to 8 pages.

The continued publication of this socialist press, in spite of the most adverse conditions — the poverty of its supporters, frequent isolation, periods of reaction when the whole left movement often seemed to constitute no more than a corporal's guard, even illegality for several years — is indeed an inspiring tribute to the remarkable comrades who kept alight the flame of revolutionary socialism. It is also and above all a vindication of the correctness of the political perspective of Trotskyism.

An impressive record indeed — particularly when compared with that of the trade union movement and the CCF-NDP. With all their resources of money and manpower, their scores of full-time organizers, etc., the labor movement in this country has never attempted to establish a labor daily newspaper. The NDP, Canada's labor party, has only one weekly newspaper, soon to revert to a twice monthly.

Our press has been primarily a cadre organ — serving as the instrument of the revolutionary socialist movement, seeking recruits to Marxism and educating them in the class struggle program. We have never yet grown to the point where we could even think seriously of providing the mass labor-socialist paper that is needed so badly in this country. But to the extent that our limited capacities allowed, we have consistently spoken out on all the important issues facing the broad working class movement. Our long-standing record in defending the basic principle of labor political action independent of the capitalist parties is without parallel in the left. We were among the first to hail the formation of the New Democratic Party — the mass labor party which we advocated for many years — and we have been in the forefront of the struggle to build the NDP and win it to a socialist program and leadership.

It is in the pages of the revolutionary press displayed here that you will find the only accurate cumulative account of the main issues and events in the history of the international and Canadian working class movement, and a consistent Marxist analysis of their significance. This is one of our most precious assets — for armed with the lessons of the past, we will shape the future.

→ to page 2

'... It fights system on all fronts'

The unique and vital role of the workers' press was described many years ago in the *Vanguard's* predecessor, *The Worker,* by Malcolm Bruce, a founding leader of the Communist party and later a member of the Trotskyist League for Socialist Action. Explaining how the ruling class whipped up support for the First World War, Bruce noted:

"But the greatest weapon of all in the hands of the capitalist class was the press. It did more than all the rest in working up the murder hysteria, in popularizing lying slogans, in lying about the origin and purpose of the war, in instigating terrorist acts against those who saw through their schemes and exposed their cant, humbug and falsehood.

"Against this torrent of lies, hatred and corruption stood, alone, the revolutionary press. Although driven underground it continued, illegally, to oppose the imperialist war, to expose its shams and hypocrisies . . .

". . . The paper you are now reading is a member of the great international family of revolutionary publications. It interprets events and exposes the schemes of the ruling class for fostering the military spirit. It fights the organizations which seek to enmesh the working class youth in the war machine. It is not content with mere phrases, and a passive negative attitude but takes a positive position of ACTIVE opposition to imperialist war. It fights capitalism on all its fronts . . ."

— *The Worker,* **Aug. 8, 1925**

..THE..
WORKERS' WORLD
SOVIET GOVERNMENT NOT PANIC STRICKEN BY CRISIS
I.T.U. DISCUSSES WORK AND WAGES
"GENERAL STAFF" FOR BRITISH LABOR
SOVIET RUSSIA WILL TOLERATE NO INTERFERENCE
THE VANGUARD
Organ of the International Left Opposition of Canada
Hail 15 Years of Soviet Power!
Forward on the Road of the World Revolution
CIVIC ELECTION
AMNESTY CAMPAIGN
FOR LABOR CANDIDATES AGAINST BOSSES!
Socialist Action
OFFICIAL ORGAN of SOCIALIST WORKERS' LEAGUE of CANADA
TAMMANY HALL POLITICIANS IN WINDSOR
SHARPENING CRISIS CRACKS OLD TWO PARTY SYSTEM
FOR A CCF GOV'T
CHALLENGE
For Independent Labour Political Action
VOTE CCF
Statement of PURPOSE AND POLICY
MITCH POSES AS FRIEND OF LABOUR
FOR A LABOR ADMINISTRATION
The Workers Vanguard
Top Polls With Dowson Mayor Stanton B. of C.
THE ELECTION ISSUE
FOR BOARD OF CONTROL
FOR MAYOR
GEORGE STANTON

48 YEARS OF SOCIALIST JOURNALISM. The Workers' World, at top, was the first English-language organ of the Canadian communists.

#169

PAGE 3 of 11

Building a new leadership...

As the multiplicity of journals testifies, the fight to build a revolutionary socialist party in this country has not been a smooth, unbroken process.

The first issue of *The Workers' World*, original precursor of the *Workers Vanguard*, featured a report of the third congress of the Communist International. The headline read "Trotsky Makes Great Speech."

Barely seven years later, in November 1928, Maurice Spector, an editor of what was then *The Worker*, was summarily expelled from the Communist Party. His crime: having expressed his solidarity with the revolutionary program being defended by Leon Trotsky against the bureaucratic degeneration of the Comintern under Stalin and Bukharin. Forty years after Spector's expulsion, the *Workers Vanguard* is continuing the struggle in defense of revolutionary Marxism and workers democracy initiated by Trotsky and the International Left Opposition.

The major issues in the historic Trotsky-Stalin dispute are outlined by Spector in his statement to the Communist party that is reproduced on the opposite page. Stalin's disastrous policy in China and his opportunist maneuvers in Britain were only the first manifestations of the treacherous international role of the bureaucratic caste that was consolidating its hold on the isolated and industrially backward Soviet workers state. The Stalinist virus spread quickly throughout the world Communist movement, and was a major factor in the crushing defeat suffered by the German working class at the hands of Hitlerism in 1933. This, together with the defeat of the Spanish revolution and the lost opportunity for revolution in France in 1934-36, directly contributed to the onset of World War II. It is the Stalinization of the Canadian CP, with its resulting fatal political errors and demoralization of a whole generation of class conscious workers, that explains the party's eventual decline to its position today as a shell with almost no influence in the left, rightly rejected by all the new youthful revolutionary elements.

Revolutionary socialism, of course, has nothing in common with the reformist illusions characterized by social democracy and its partisans in the leadership of the CCF and New Democratic Party. In our editorial statement in the first issue of the *Vanguard*, in 1932 (reprinted on this page), we declared war on the "social reformists" and reaffirmed that the main challenge before Canadian workers, as before the world working class, was to overcome the crisis of leadership in the workers organizations by constructing the revolutionary party.

The Trotskyist prognoses have been vindicated many times over. But for years, the vindication was expressed in defeats, in the failure of the proletariat to take the power owing to false leadership and betrayal by the social democrats and Stalinists alike. It is not easy to build a movement through force of negative example — and even many class conscious workers, understanding the role of the social democrats and Stalinists and acquainted with our analysis nonetheless did not see their way clear to active participation in the Trotskyist movement. During many years, the mere survival of our small cadres was a major achievement.

The postwar extension of the world revolution, beginning with the Yugoslav and Chinese revolutions, and continuing through the Cuban and Vietnamese revolutions, has laid the basis for a new upsurge of radicalization in the advanced capitalist countries like Canada. Insofar as the new revolutionary leaderships, such as the Cuban, bypass the old reformist and neo-reformist parties of social-democracy and Stalinism, they have been obliged to seek their points of reference in concepts long defended by the Trotskyists alone.

Today, we are on the threshold of what promises to be a new wave of radicalization, which has already found initial inspiration and expression here in the anti-Vietnam war movement and the growing support for the NDP. In looking back, we can appreciate with renewed understanding the immense historic importance of the work of the tiny but dedicated forces who in this country as around the world at great cost and personal sacrifice preserved that priceless heritage, our revolutionary Marxist theory.

Looking ahead, we can say with confidence that the Trotskyists in the League for Socialist Action/Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière will play a key role in the struggles that develop. Today more than ever it is clear that only a firm conscious cadre based on the worked out program of revolutionary Marxism can begin to come to grips with the difficult but essential task of building an alternative leadership for the Canadian working class — a leadership capable of guiding the socialist struggle to victory.

The Origins of Canadian Trotskyism

Maurice Spector's statement was printed in the second issue of the *The Militant*, the journal of the American Trotskyists. First published 19 days after the expulsion of James P. Cannon, Martin Abern and Max Shachtman from the Communist Party, the weekly *Militant* last fall celebrated its fortieth anniversary of continuous publication.

Throughout those years, the Canadian Trotskyists have benefited greatly from their close fraternal relations with *The Militant* and their co-thinkers in the Socialist Workers Party. During the few years when we did not publish our own paper, we relied almost exclusively on *The Militant* to present a revolutionary socialist analysis of the news. A more recent instance of this fruitful collaboration was the *Vanguard's* extensive use last year of coverage from *The Militant* on the important developments in France and Czechoslovakia.

PAGE 4 of 12
#169
Workers Vanguard Supplement — March, 1969 3

The Vanguard

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Organ of the
INTERNATIONAL LEFT OPPOSITION
OF CANADA.

VOL. 1. — No. 1. 9 NOV.-DEC. 1932.

The Twilight of Capitalism

The Vanguard proceeds from the conviction that the fundamental problems of contemporary Humanity flow from the dissolution of capitalist society and the development of the proletarian revolution. The platform of the International Left Opposition to which it adheres, derives from Marx and Lenin whose principles and methods constitute the only socialism the possessing classes need fear or the working classes cherish.

The world economic crisis torturing the countless millions is an inevitable phase of capitalism in its epoch of historic decay. A social order which divorces producers from their tools, which penalizes productivity by unemployment and fetters consumption by the wage system must always be rooted in insoluble contradictions. Conceived in blood and dirt, Capitalism did however once fulfill a progressive mission. Even the eruptions of periodic crisis were incidents of economic expansion. Stocks were consumed, costs were reduced and a fresh equilibrium established. The gold standard testified to stable exchanges. If the rate of profit declined in the imperialist West, it was compensated in super-profits from capital export to the colonial hinterland. The world market was, generally speaking, based on an international division of labor. Accordingly, the pre-war situation tended towards an armed peace of the "Great Powers" and an irregular truce between the classes.

The turning point, marking the twilight of capitalism was the imperialist war of 1914. Under the increasing hegemony of finance-capital, competition was yielding to monopoly. Productive forces adjusted to the scale of world economy and based on highly socialized industrial technique, clashed with the confines of the national state and the title deeds of private property. The outcome of the ensuing struggle for the redistribution of the world market by force of arms was Versailles — and on the other hand, the Soviet Power.

The basic causes propelling 1914-18 are maturing a second world war. For scale and intensity, the violence of social antagonisms and the economic crisis, is unprecedented. International trade since 1929 has shrunk by sixty per cent. During the first three months of 1932, the value of the exports of sixteen leading countries was two-fifths of the corresponding period three years ago. The fall in wholesale prices has been greater than in any "depression" in the past hundred years; the international credit structure of capitalism is tottering; the debtor countries stagger under an impossible load of inter-governmental war debts and reparations; unemployment throughout the world is on a hitherto unknown scale; military armaments are in excess of 1914. With characteristic penetration, Engels had visualized this situation as far back as 1886. "America" he wrote," will smash up England's industrial monopoly — whatever there is left of it. But America cannot herself succeed to that monopoly. And unless one country has the monopoly of the world, at least in the decisive branches of trade, the conditions, relatively favorable — which existed in England from 1848 to 1870, cannot anywhere be reproduced, and even in America the condition of the working class must sink lower and lower. For if there are three countries (say England, America, and Germany), competing on comparatively equal terms for the possession of the world market, there is no change but chronic overproduction, one of the three being capable of supplying the whole quantity required."

Failing the intervention of the proletariat, the crisis may be alleviated by the play of the market and yielding to a "revival" afford the capitalists a fresh breathing spell. But between the character of the precarious 'stabilization' that capitalism has experienced since the war and the 'organic' stability of capitalism when it was developing its productive forces there is a profound chasm. Considered abstractly, it may be that if the imperialists could destroy the Soviet Union, crush the colonial revolution and strangle the proletariat for long decades, capitalism would obtain a fresh lease of life. But this abstraction bears as little relation to realities, as Bucharin's abstraction of 'socialist construction in one country' from the processes of world economy — or, say, Kautsky's conception of an ultra-imperialist all inclusive world trust. The theoretical possibility of the latter Lenin never disputed, but its practical realization, merely ran counter, he pointed out, to the dialectic of the class struggle. History with its titanic upheavals is apparently one long conspiracy to thwart the visions of the Fabian Society. It has mocked the apostles of "gradualism" at every turn, those same "evolutionists" who found no difficulty supporting the 'gradualist' Boer War, the 'gradualist' British rule of India, the 'gradualist' war of 1914.

The **material foundations of communism,** the objective pre-requisites of the proletarian revolution are available on a world-scale. The key to the further development of society is now in the hands of the subjective factor, the proletariat, its party and its revolutionary leadership. "In the German Revolution of 1918, the Hungarian Revolution of 1919, in the September action of the Italian proletariat in 1920, in the German events of 1923, in the English General Strike of 1926, in the Vienna uprising of 1927 and the Chinese Revolution of 1925-27 everywhere, one and the same political contradiction of the past decade, even if different in form and degree, was manifested. In an objectively ripe revolutionary situation, ripe not only with regard to social prerequisites but not infrequently also with regard to the mood for struggle of the masses, the subjective factor, that is a revolutionary mass party was lacking, or else this party lacked a far sighted and courageous leadership" (L. Trotsky— "Strategy of the World Revolution").

Barrier of Social Reformism

One of the principal barriers on the road of proletarian liberation continues to be social reformism, whether in the form of the "Socialist" or the Labor Party. If any more were required, the crisis has been fresh confirmation of the utter bankruptcy of social reformism and its practices of class collaboration. After co-operating with the German bourgeoisie in the prosecution of the War for Kultur, saving the tottering structure of German capitalism in 1918, helping Entente and American Imperialism to operate the Dawes Plan, the Social Democracy has led the German workers into the greatest depths of social misery it has yet experienced. "Socialist" coalition with imperialism and capitalism has split the forces of the working class and paved the way for the Fascist recruitment of the despairing middle classes. In Great Britain there have been two "Labor" Governments. The "Labor Party," which attracted the masses by the radical phraseology of its successive manifestoes and programs, its promises of a new social order and its threats of a capital levy, has proved—that it is a loyal and reliable Third Party of the bourgeoisie and its leaders are His Majesty's most excellent lackeys. The second Labor Government was kicked out as ignominiously by the capitalists as the first. Macdonald and Snowden, the theorists of "Constructive Socialism," entered the coalition leaving George Lansbury as an oppositional decoy for the masses. There is not even a single important legislative enactment in the workers interests to the credit of the Labor Party, let alone any basic measure of socialization. It has governed in the interests of British Capitalism and the maintenance of "the Empire." In Australia, the record of social-democratic futility is farcically capped by a British official dismissing Langs Labor Government for embarassing British bondholders, as nonchalantly as if he were dismissing a class of naughty boys.

Before "the crash" the United States was an almost limitless object of social democratic adoration. If to-day "socialists" like the Webbs, praise Soviet economic planning to shame their "own" capitalists to go and do likewise, in the period of prosperity, the "American standard of living" was held up by the Brailsfords and others of the I. L. P. as an example of enlightened and efficient capitalism. Henry Ford loomed up as the supreme Marx-destroyer of all times. The chapter of illusions American Imperialism roused in the breasts of the "socialists" is now familiar to the proverbial schoolboy. Henry Ford's marvellous 'Economy of High Wages' has been succeeded by Henry Fords hired constabulary assassinating unarmed workless demonstrators. The touching Arabian Nights tale of how the "Labor Banks" were amassing the workers wealth to buy out Wall Street, has been succeeded by the expulsion of the Bonus Army from Washington by torsh and bayonet. As for the bureaucracy of the American Federation of Labor which almost took entire credit for the "American standard of living," it has not as much as raised its little finger to organize resistance to successive wage-slashes.

Canadian Social Democracy

The social reformists in the Dominion, the most prominent of whom, is J. S. Woodsworth, M.P., are engaged in establishing their "Co-operative Commonwealth Federation," a neo-Farmer-Labor-Socialist Party. It already has received the endorsation of the United Farmers of Alberta and kindred organizations and as it rolls Eastward, the workers organizations are asked for their affiliation too. Messrs Woodsworth, Heaps, Irvine and the others, astutely speculate on the radicalization of the masses under the blows of the crisis and the natural desire of the rank-and-file for unity. Affiliation is to be on a federated basis, ostensibly the member organizations are to retain their organizatory autonomy. The aim of the movement is to obtain the "Co-operative Commonwealth." Meanwhile the C. C. F. proposes economic planning, security of tenure for the farmer, social insurance, etc. Many workers who have not thought it through, will no doube favor affiliation.

The methods of Woodsworth are not at all novel. The social-reformists generally plays "left wing" and "radical" when they are in a minority or in opposition. That is how they gain the support of the uncritical workers. To that extent the "Left" socialists are more dangerous than the Right, who discredit themselves in plain view. The masses must realize that Woodsworth is a little brother of the Mensheviks who opposed the conquest of political power by the Russian workers, of the German socialists whose history since 1914 has been a series of betrayals, of the leaders of the British Labor Government, who have administered the policies of British Imperialism. Woodsworth is not a young and inexperienced worker just coming into the movement — he is an opportunist of many years standing who was prepared by the ministry and "social service."

Following the precedent once set by Phillip Lord Snowden, Mr. Woodsworth introduced a resolution in Parliament last March "urging this House to take measure to get up a co-operative commonwealth." Good propaganda, his followers may say. No, a policy that is false to the roots and can result only in the sowing of dangerous illusions. It is easy nowadays to pay lip service to *planning* and *socialization*. But never once characteristically enough did he raise the issue of class power. Instead, acadamic speeches, plentifully strewn with quotations from bourgeois publicists who say something critical about social conditions, "One of the best statements I have come across of the present situation is contained in the necyclical of Pope Pius XI" . . . "I hold in my hand a book published thirteen years ago by Sidney and Beatrice Webb—a Constitution for the British Commonwealth of Great Britain . . . If any one wishes to see the steps whereby this could be brought about in Great Britain I recommend that he read this book by Lord Passfield" . . . This book by the bankrupt Fabian Webb retains the British monarchy in the scheme of the "socialist commonwealth." And finally a confession from the statesman who is the candidate for Ramsay Macdonalds position in Canada . . . "We do not know just what the next development will be." (Hansard, March 28, 1932.)

The characterization of Woodsworth is necessary for the characterization of the new "Federation." The one thing the "new" party ignores is the issue of power. How will they get their "social planning." Will the capitalists plan for them? There is planned economy in the Soviet Union. But without the dictatorship of the proletriat and the leadership of the Communist Party, there would have been no "planning." Woodsworth and his new social Democratic-Farmers do not tell the workers that without the prior conquest of political power and the organization of the proletarian state on the ruins of "bourgeois democracy," there will be no abolition of private property or socialization of the means of production.

The bourgeoisie will not peacefully abdicate even though their title deeds have become a fetter on the forces of production. There will be no automatic collapse and whoever preaches that is lulling the workers into passivity. Only the most heroic, the most revolutionary struggle of the working class supported by the exploited stratum of the farmers can propel capitalism to its doom. Before it will think of yielding, the bourgeoisie will mobilize every resource of cunning and force. Experience shows that once they feel their props slipping, the representatives of "civilization, culture and religion" will abrogate every civil liberty if necessary, the entire paraphernalia and mumbo jumbo of parliamentarism, and will unleash the very middle classes finance capital has ruined in the Fascist terror against the working class.

Elsewhere in this issue the Vanguard presents an article on "Revolutionary Strategy in the Trade Unions." The author Bill Matheson is one of the most experienced industrial organizers in the revolutionary movement. Comrade Matheson knows conditions in Illinois and in Nova Scotia. His most recent field of activity has been Nova Scotia where, as the testimony of the secretary of the Amalgamated Mine Workers Union bears out, (see a recent issue of **The Worker**), he was one of the leading forces in the organization

#169 PAGE 5 of 11

Consistent record:

Our struggle against war

The fight against war is ultimately a fight against capitalism, the profit system which breeds war, and its international expression, imperialism. The socialist press in this country has been in the forefront of the anti-war struggle. Reproduced here are the front pages from three key issues of our paper.

Pictured at right is the issue of *Socialist Action* that appeared on the outbreak of the second imperialist world war, in September, 1939. This issue was promptly banned by the government, and a leading Trotskyist spokesman was imprisoned under the Defense of the Realm Act — the first victim of the war-time assault on the civil rights of anti-war protesters.

The Trotskyists of the Socialist Workers League declared that the capitalist Canadian government could not be relied on to wage a genuine war against fascism. We urged that the only way to defend the Soviet Union was to continue the struggle for socialism at home, in the first place by vigorously resisting all attempts to destroy the independence of the trade unions, such as Stalinist-inspired moves (after the invasion of the USSR in June, 1941) to saddle the labor movement with a no-strike pledge. The Trotskyists were the only tendency on the left to support the French Canadian-led resistance to conscription. During the war, we continued to publish and circulate *Socialist Action* illegally, in mimeographed form, at considerable risk to our sparse and harassed membership.

At the end of World War II almost all political tendencies predicted an era of enduring peace. Our declaration "There Is No Peace" (lower left) was widely regarded as a piece of dogmatism and an example of how Marxism is unrelated to reality. Within a few years the United States with Canada in its train had inaugurated the cold war and the world has lived under the shadow of the nuclear bomb ever since.

U.S. aggression in Korea and Vietnam has demonstrated a great deal about the permanence of an imperialist peace.

In the summer of 1950, the St-Laurent government formed the first Canadian Army Special Force to be sent to Korea to aid U.S. intervention in the civil war — the first "peacekeeping" venture of its type. *Labor Challenge* waged a consistent campaign against Canadian intervention in Korea, demanded a referendum on participation (lower right), and scored the CCF leadership's call for "an international police force" to back U.S. and UN intervention in the war.

THE WORKERS VANGUARD

#169 Mar. 10, 1969

Page 6 of 11

03_10-4f

Socialist Action

OFFICIAL ORGAN of SOCIALIST WORKERS' LEAGUE of CANADA

VOL. II NO. 5 TORONTO, SEPTEMBER 1939 Price 5 cents

REMEMBER 1914-1918

While ruling circles in Britain, France and Germany lightly toss the dice of war, let's remember the first World War.

LET'S REMEMBER that the World War cost 30 million lives and 400 billion dollars in property. Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler in his graphic demonstration of the cost of the last war to the world, says:

"If that 400 billion dollars had been put to constructive use it would have built a $2,500,000 home and furnished this house with $1,000 worth of furniture, and placed it on five acres of land worth $100 an acre and given all this to each and every family in the United States, Canada, Australia, England, Wales, Ireland, Scotland, Belgium, Germany and Russia".

His report continues that after doing this there would have been enough money to give to each city in these countries a $5,000,000 library and a $1,000,000 university; enough money to pay for all time to come out of a sinking fund, salaries for 125,000 teachers and 125,000 nurses; and out of the balance enough to buy up all of France and Belgium.

LET'S REMEMBER that these 30 million lives were taken in order to determine whether German and Austro-Hungarian imperialism or French, British, Czarist and American imperialism would dominate the world, and reap profits from the millions of white, black, brown and yellow slaves of the colonies.

LET'S REMEMBER that in the midst of all the misery and devastation inflicted on the masses, the profits of the capitalist class swelled beyond the highest limits it had yet attained.

LET'S REMEMBER that the war was fought under the slogans of a "war to end all wars" and there has not been a year since the end of the World War in which wars, large or small, were not being fought.

LET'S REMEMBER that the war was fought under the slogan of a "war for democracy" and that there is less democracy, that the masses today in every capitalist country in the world enjoy fewer democratic rights than they did at any other time in the last fifty years.

LET'S REMEMBER that the masses were mobilized and driven to the charnel house of war with the cry that "We'll hang the Kaiser to a sour apple tree!" The Kaiser remains free and alive while millions rot in war graves, the Kaiser remains one of the wealthiest men in the world today. His place has been

(continued on page 2)

STALIN CAPITULATION LAUNCHES ANOTHER EUROPEAN WAR

Writing themselves in history as the immediate precipitators of the European War, Stalin and his fellow-murderers of the Kremlin last month dealt the final death-blow to the Third International they had long since debauched, by capitulating to the monstrous Hitler regime of Germany. Confirming with tragic fullness the predictions of Trotsky and the Fourth Internationalists, Stalin first destroyed the Spanish revolution to win the favor of the "democracies", then, junked by them at Munich, he turned to an alliance with the world representative of reaction, and gave Hitler the signal which led to the invasion of Poland.

It was Stalin's (left) pact with Hitler (above) that gave the latter the "green light" into Poland. Stalin who murdered Lenin's old guard as "Trotskyist fascists" has revealed himself—hand in glove with the Nazi chief.

..WE REGRET SOME TYPOGRAPHICAL ERRORS. OUR READERS WILL UNDERSTAND OUR DIFFICULTIES.

Real Meaning of Moscow Trials is Clear

Today, at last, the world can see quite plainly the real meaning of the Moscow Trials.

Stalin's pact with Hitler! Stalin's blessing on the most savage, hideous political force in recorded history! Stalin's signal for Nazism to advance with a free hand, and to yoke ever more tens of millions of workers and peasants beneath the Nazi chains. The mask is off at last!

STALIN MURDERED THE FLOWER OF THE PARTY

One by one, by tens and dozens and hundreds and thousands, Stalin butchered. By frame-up in open court or in dark rooms in black night, in concentration camps or the cellars of the Lubianka, the guns of the GPU smoked. Zinoviev and Smirnov and Kamenev and Bukharin, Pyatakov, Mrachkovsky.... all who remained of those who had led the great revolution, all Lenin's comrades and colleagues, those who had been the flower of the dead party which Stalin murdered, fell before the assassin of the Kremlin. . .

These were the allies of Hitler, the agents of the Gestapo, the plotters of a "German orientation"! So said Vyshinsky.—

And now, with its fierce, terrible irony, history pulls aside the curtain: it is Stalin, Stalin the well-beloved, the eagle, the lion, the rain and the sun, who embraces Hitler over the bones of the workers of Europe.

Let us hear now from the defenders of the Trials! They know now what they defended: the alliance with Hitler, the free hand for Hitler.

Proceeding from the first betrayal of "socialism in one country-and-to-hell-with-the-world-revolution", Stalin has pursued his murderous course to its logical conclusion, "Peace in one country"—and let the workers of every other country slaughter each other for the profits of world imperialism. And just as surely as the enforcement of a nationalist policy upon the Russian workers by the Stalin dictatorship is leading not to socialism but back to capitalism so it is leading not to peace for the workers state, but war—war without allies, with the one bulwark of defense of the Soviet Union, the revolutionary international movement of the workers, betrayed, bewildered and scattered.

Maneuvring for national advantage among the imperialist powers, Stalin has long since made Russia their victim. While he dickered for impossible "popular fronts" and a "bloc of peaceloving democratic powers" and even while he and his paid hirelings in the Communist International leadership brayed to the world that they had already "stopped Hitler" and "saved peace", Hitler and Mussolini helped Franco shackel the Spanish revolution in the bloody chains of fascism, Daladier dammed the French revolutionary upsurge, turned France into a virtual dictatorship of the imperialists, and, with Chamberlain's help, handed Ethiopia and Albania to Mussolini, Austria and Czechoslovakia to Hitler.

Terms Of Pact

No amount of wriggling and lying by the hired or duped tools of Stalinism has been able this time to hide the betrayal from the eyes of the working-class. A simple reading of the Pact reveals at once that it is nothing like the previous non-aggression pacts which the

(continued on page 4)

THE WORKERS VANGUARD

#169 - Nov. 10, 1969
Page 7 of 11 03_10-49

THERE IS NO PEACE

Only Socialism Can Save Mankind From Atomic Destruction in Another World War

WORKERS, FARMERS, TOILERS OF CANADA

The second imperialist world war has ended. Six year of wholesale slaughter and devastation have been brought to an awful climax with the discovery of the atomic bomb and its use, with frightful effect, against the people of Japan.

The din of battle has ceased. Mankind now must contemplate the destruction and the ruin, the pain and the heartbreak, which the war has caused. People in every land are celebrating the end of the carnage, not so much with joy as with a sense of relief that it has come to an end. They do not and cannot feel secure. Over their celebrations, like a lowering cloud, hangs a grim foreboding of things yet to come. Here in Canada where the civilian population has been spared the monstrous agony endured for long, unbroken years by the people of Europe and Asia, joy that the war has ended is also tinged with dread for the future.

Revulsion and Anxiety

The atomic bombing of the Japanese cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, with the combined population of 600,000 men, women and children, has sent a wave of revulsion and anxiety throughout the world, especially among the toiling populations who are the principal victims of war. It is universally realized that mankind has been saved from total annihilation in World War II only because the atomic bomb was invented so late. There is also the conviction, amounting to certainty, that another world war will mean the doom of the human race.

Hatred of imperialist war, and fear of what the future holds, is driving the workers to revolutionary political conclusions. The imperialist rulers, who alone have profited from the war, seek to prevent this at all costs. They want to sidetrack the workers from the struggle to end the capitalist system and establish socialism, which is the only sure guarantee that another war will be impossible.

All the organs of ruling class propaganda are mobilized to deceive the masses into thinking that the end of the war means the dawn of true and lasting peace and that peace can be preserved without revolutionary social

(Continued on Page 4)

HOWE'S ANSWER PROOF THAT GOV'T HAS NO POSTWAR PLAN

"I don't give a damn if they do have to take jobs at 25 cent an hour less. They had better take the jobs or they won't be working for a long time." This was Reconstruction Minister C. D. Howe's answer to the union leaders who approached him on Sept. 4th in Toronto, to find out what the government planned to do about lay-offs.

Ripping the mask of lies from the much publicized program of the Liberal Big Business government, he exposed the fact that the present administration has no plans for full employment.

Lay-offs, which grew from a trickle early in the year to a steady stream by V-E Day, have, with the surrender of Japan, grown into a flood which threatens to engulf the Canadian workers and their organizations.

The Canadian workers, who hung up new records of production in every phase of industry during the war years are now paid off with the lay-off. The gigantic plants built by the workers and financed by the government with the people's money, are rapidly being shut down.

During the war, with close to a million men taken out of the labour force, Canadian production rose to record heights. Thousands of workers acquired new skills and produced commodities never before manufactured in Canada. Now before the echo of the war has died away, the first of the four freedoms —Freedom from Want—rings like a hollow mockery in the ears of the workers.

Shorter hours and the elimination of overtime pay and production bonuses have cut huge holes in the pay cheques of thousands of workers. National Selective Service is attempting to force the laid-off workers into sub-standard jobs by threatening to deny them unemployment insurance benefits.

The government has done nothing—is planning nothing—to help the workers meet the crisis ahead.

With the one hand it offers the growing army of unemployed the miserable pittance of $14 a week unemployment insurance, with the other it is giving away government owned plants to the war profiteers.

The speech from the throne and Howe's frank statements indicate the government is interested in providing aid only to Big Business which made the highest profits in its history during the war years.

The workers, of whom 85 per cent earned less than $850 per year in the latest year of the war, obviously will bear the savings which are supposed to bring prosperity in the few years. The few war the workers hold will soon be eaten up by unemployment and rising prices.

The closing of the war plants which foreshadows a return to 1939 levels of production, will mean at least a million unemployed in Canada. Full employment can be reached only if sub-standard wages are raised, the hours of work reduced and the take home pay maintained and fairly but more importantly, the government continues to own war plants and they are run under workers' control to produce the consumer goods needed by the Canadian workers and farmers. Point 18 of the Canadian Congress of Labour's Legislative Program demanded that the government continue to operate the crown companies, but now this seems to have been forgotten by the union leaders.

The first step towards nationalization of all industry under the control of the workers is the continued government ownership of the crown companies and their operation by their present laid-off workers. This must become the aim of the struggle of the labour movement for jobs for all. The labour leaders must take pains to see that the paper it was written on and take a militant movement around it. This demand should be the central theme of the activity of the CCF members in the present session of the House of Commons.

For continued government ownership of the crown companies and their operation under workers' control.

SOLDIERS' PROTESTS FORCE CHANGE IN GOV'T POLICY

Soldier sit down strikes and CCF protests have forced the government to change their policy of using troops on civilian jobs at army rates of pay.

Canadian troops in limited numbers, for some months past, have been forced to carry out the anti-labour policies of Mackenzie King. They had been ordered to take jobs in lumbering, packing plants, and on the docks and railways. Even the youth of Hitler-dominated soldiers worked under army discipline at army rates of pay, and army rations in some cases for as long as 90 days per day.

Protest sit downs by a detachment of the men of the River Boat unit at Oakville and No Military District troops at Ellwood who had been ordered to work as maintainance of way workers on the railway brought the matter to public attention.

M. J. Coldwell, CCF House Leader, filed a protest with the Minister of National Defence and the Department of Labour after he had been contacted by some of the troops involved.

Harry Archibald, CCF member from Skeena, B.C., stated "it is an infringement of civil liberties to order these soldiers to do such work at army pay. Railway workers have been the best organized section of the working classes and this is a direct threat to the trade union movement. . . . In fact this reminds me of R. B. Bennett's relief camps during the depression. I intend to raise this question in the House of Commons during the next session." Toronto Star, Aug. 31st.

On Tuesday, August 21st, 50 men from M.D. 2 refused to work under these conditions at the Inglis plant. Eight days later Toronto Star, Aug. 31st.

(Continued on Page 7)

THE WORKERS VANGUARD

#169 - Mar 10, 1969

Majority Oppose War; Let the People Vote!

Do the Canadian people want to wage war on the people of Korea? Has the propaganda barrage unleashed from all directions pounded them into rabid jingoist-howling for blood as the capitalists and their government desire?

The answer can be seen from a survey conducted by the Gallup Poll, notoriously biased in favor of Big Business and all its works. The survey was released on July 29, after more than a month of the Korean war.

According to this survey, 66 per cent of voting-age Canadians do not support the sending of troops to Korea. Of this number, 39 per cent are opposed unconditionally; 15 per cent, conditionally; and 12 per cent, are in doubt. A minority of a mere 34 per cent, approves of the step St. Laurent has now taken. Forty-one per cent do not support even the sending of a single plane, ship or round of ammunition to interfere in the Korean civil war, let alone troops; while 28 per cent go so far as to outrightly oppose, or withhold support from, even the American intervention.

Greatest opposition to Canadian involvement is centered in Quebec, a province comprising close to a third of the national population and the traditional home of anti-war sentiment. There 62 per cent are unconditionally opposed to the sending of troops; 17 per cent, uncertain or opposed with reservations; while only a pitiful minority of 21 per cent give unqualified approval.

Even in Ontario, traditionally at the other extreme from Quebec in the national political picture, 60 per cent of the people do not support the sending of troops. Of these, 28 per cent are opposed unreservedly, 19 per cent, with reservations, and 13 per cent are undecided. A minority of 40 per cent is in favor. Sixteen per cent stand unreservedly for a complete "Hands Off" position.

St. Laurent knew when he announced his decision to send troops to Korea that only a minority of the nation was with him. Yet he brazenly dragged this nation a step closer to war, and committed a part of its army, not only to the unpopular Korean war, but to any future action "in carrying out Canada's obligations under the United Nations Charter or the North Atlantic pact"—"obligations" which it will remain wholly in the hands of St. Laurent, his cabinet and his Bay Street packed house to determine. And they will not be bound by the unorganized sentiment of the people. Didn't St. Laurent himself defiantly lay it down in 1948 that Canada should go to war "even if 11,999,999 out of 12 million favored a policy of neutrality"? This is an example of the democracy St. Laurent claims to be fighting for in Korea!

Clearly it is time the Canadian people, who must bear all the burdens of war, also demanded for themselves the sole responsibility for its determination. Let's vote on this Hiroshima-Nagasaki issue!

WORKERS OF THE WORLD, UNITE!

Labor Challenge

Revolutionary Workers Party — Canadian Section, 4th International

Vol. VI, No. 8 (85) — MID-AUGUST, 1950 — Price: 5 cents

GOVT. INVOLVES CANADA IN OMINOUS KOREAN WAR

By BARRY BRENT

The Canadian people are being dragged step by step, against their will, into war. Not a small war, isolated in backward Korea, but the Big War, the Atomic War, the war which, if allowed to erupt, will write finis to civilization in a roaring interval of blood, flame and rubble.

The Canadian Cabinet, ruled by the Big Brass and Big Business, met the call-to-arms of world imperialism led by its Wall Street Chief-of-Staff by despatching three destroyers to the U.S. East, without consultation of parliament. That was the opening wedge. Under cover of a monstrous propaganda barrage spewed out from all the powerful organs at the disposal of the boss class, Canadian transport planes and navy vessels were transferred to the war front. A rabid recruiting drive was launched to swell the permanent forces by an initial 25 per cent. And finally, at a cabinet meeting held early this month, the most big step was made—an endorsement by a worried nation on August 7 by Prime Minister St. Laurent.

This is the creation of a Canadian Army Special Force, to consist at first of from four to six thousand men. This force is not limited to NATO in Korea; it will be, according to St. Laurent, "for use in carrying out Canada's obligations under the United Nations Charter or the North Atlantic pact"—anywhere, any time; the first force recruited by any nation with such commitments. As part of the regular Armed forces, from which troops are transferable, it becomes the active army which can be sacrificed at will to conscription—already being organized for by the Brass, led by Gen. H. D. G. Crerar and the well-known methods of compulsion to go active "voluntarily". Already the ground has been prepared, army strength has for the first time been tried from purely voluntary control and the war there knocked from under parliament.

All this has been done in the name of "defense of democracy," to "defeat an aggressor." But how different was the attitude of the Canadian government and the flunkey UN to the bloody Dutch assault on Indonesia! St. Laurent was not interested in a Special Force then! And how different was the attitude of the Canadian government to the thousands of Canadian youth who attempted to volunteer for the Loyalist army defending Spain from the attack of the fascist Franco, backed by the armed might of Hitler and Mussolini! Every impediment was put in their way, and an arms embargo clamped on aid to the beleaguered Republic, a members with Canada of UN's predecessor the League of Nations!

Side by side with these monstrous moves on the military plane the government is efforts to create the ideological preparation for the transformation of the economy to a war footing and the turning of Canada into a vast barracks of the power of the warlike, atom-mad military caste.

As we go to press up U.S. and Canadian flags are merging in Korea under the auspices of the joint Canada-U.S. Industrial Mobilization Committee. One of this meeting will concern the integration for the purpose of U.S.-Canadian economy into one integrated all-continental arsenal of armaments, thrusting out the prospect of world destruction with the power of a colossus behind us or the gate in a face complex. And debates unless you already being heard, shelling the imperialists presumably a mutual

(Continued on page 5)

CCF Leaders Warmonger, Opposition's Stand Weak

If St. Laurent and the Dorions were frightened at possible resistance to their bold moves behind Wall Street in Korea they did not have to worry about M. J. Coldwell and the CCF national leadership. In fact one of the primary reasons they have been able to go so far and so fast is that they know they have—the CCF leadership's absolute support.

Not content with going along with St. Laurent's lightning commitment of Canadian ships, planes and personnel without consultation of parliament, let alone the people, the Coldwell leadership has put forward proposals of their own.

The National Council of the CCF which completes the party's top brass presented a resolution to the CCF convention that met in Vancouver in the last week of July (shortly after the St. Laurent government's failure to take "positive action").

"The burden of military action to halt aggression in Korea" they chided the St. Laurent government which is very sensitive to the Canadian anti-war sentiment above all in Quebec, "should not be left to one nation alone. All nations including Canada . . . should participate according to their ability in whatever military and other measures are necessary." The Council's resolution demanded the immediate creation of an international police force to back up the UN-US action.

LIBERALS TABLE

A similar resolution before the Young Liberal Association convention held in Vancouver a week previous was tabled because of wide disagreement. But the CCP leadership pressed their resolution through the CCF convention at the July 27th session. St. Laurent was rushed up to Coldwell where he made his August 7 announcement immediately.

The national council's warmongering resolution was put and adopted by the convention without widespread opposition from the floor. Packed by 317 delegates, the opposition battled through the two and a half hour session to lose 25 votes against 317.

A subsidiary resolution, presented by Vancouver delegate Rodney Young in opposition to the Coldwell stand, called to clarify the issue confronting the convention or to extend the influence of the Left, it was defeated by a vote of 141 to 21. It called for a revision of the UN charter to include Asiatic, the non-seating of North and South Korean representatives to appear before the full UN Security Council to secure fire order to the Council, the ousting of Chiang government delegates in the UN and the creation of a UN Commission headed by Nehru to devise a permanent solution of the Korean situation.

The basic error of the Young amendment is that it is based on the illusion, so treacherously fostered by the Coldwell leadership, that the UN is an instrument of world peace and not a tool of world capitalism. If peace and the fate of humankind rested in the hands of the Wall Street dominated assembly of representatives of the oppressors and exploiters of the world, society would be doomed to atomic destruction.

Failing to reveal the counter-revolutionary character of the Korean struggle and the imperialist aims and objectives of the UN-US forces, the Left was unable to meet the key arguments advanced by the Coldwell leadership: the theme of Soviet aggression and the need for "collective security" against aggression.

Without taking seriously Stalin's pronouncement that the Kremlin has nothing to do with the internal affairs of other countries such as Korea, Vancouverites in the front in everyone's mind, an aggressive act by either North or South was implied in the situation.

Korea carved up by Stalin and Truman at Yalta. At any rate history has shown how one power through various kinds of pressures can make the situation so intolerable for another that it is provoked or forced in desperation into committing the first overt act. No trade unionist can preside in honorable parade of this in his local's relations with the boss just as the question of who struck the blow that transformed the situation plays no role in a worker's identification of his interests with the striking union, so in the age of high powered diplomacy the question of "aggressor" can play no decisive role in ascertaining the social character of a war and the attitude of workers to such a conflict.

While the Left carried on a strenuous routine battle against Coldwell's war-mongering, its spokesmen expressed neither satisfaction, objection, opposition, only the odd one showing any signs of understanding of the real issues involved. The Young resolution, to say the least, was no aid in this task.

"In proportion every problem in wartime were overlaid, aptly commented Robert Gresham (CCF), a delegate from Calgary, saved the UN as 'the creature of the Atlantic nations and particularly of the United States.' The only time we step in is when the interests of the UN are threatened. But lacking a clear opposition force in the ranks of the war-mongering Coldwell leadership which had previously worked hard to build up a fetish spirit around the opposition the Left was defeated.

The E.C. Convention showed that militant workers who want to fight against war will find no guidance from the CCF parliamentary and national leadership. They can only look to those who firmly base themselves on the principles of revolutionary socialism, such as the members of the Revolutionary Workers Party and their press LABOR CHALLENGE.

Union Leader Flays Rhee Regime, Exposes Villainy of Yankee Puppet

Canadian and American imperialist propaganda is attempting to hide from the people the fact that a genuine civil war is going on between the North Korean and South Korean regimes and that the South Korean forces have the overwhelming support of the Korean people against the South Korean government of Syngman Rhee.

Why the Syngman Rhee government is almost universally detested by the Koreans and could not have survived a month without US military support was revealed last week by no less an authority than Stanley Earl, an official ECA labor adviser in Korea and former secretary-treasurer of the Oregon State CIO.

Earl, who threatened to have [illegible] was interviewed by Canadian Press correspondent Kathleen Dowda after his return on July 17 from Seoul. The important thing Earl revealed was:

"Last year the Rhee government put 150,000 people with families in jail. The prisons are bulging. I went through them, but no one else did."

A PRISON CAMP

He describes the workers in South Korea as "oppressed, suppressed and repressed." The Rhee government "resembles the Gestapo between communism and capitalism." He spent half his time trying to get materials he was supposed to be working with out of prison. "The people I worked with were continually being put into jail."

He added, "The workers had no faith in the current union leadership of the government controlled unions, or in the word of the government itself in administering agreements."

The South Korean army leaders were so corrupt, Earl said, that he knew one South Korean division commander who charged his troops one million Won a month for the use of their own mess hall. And the day before the war began he sold the Rhee army looted rice from the public, although the army warehouses were bulging with rice.

Under this corrupt regime which was being financed and armed by Washington, Earl reported, the average worker earned only about $720 a month, while a miner's wage was but a fourth of this. One [illegible] that among [illegible] was three months behind in their pay.

In the recent parliamentary election campaign, when Rhee's opponents won an overwhelming majority, "Rhee charged all 'middle of the road' opponents with being Communists or leftists," Earl said. "Some of the opposition was thrown into jail and subjected to the brutal police methods of a force still made up in large part of police who dominated their fellow Koreans for 30 years under Japanese rule."

Earl was better than the conduct and attitude of the Americans of Rhee in South Korea. "You can't instill democracy with cocktail parties for the big shots and conferences with the bankers. I told them to go out and talk to the people, but they never did."

He himself did attempt to investigate conditions because "I did not go over there to sit at a desk and liquidate the working class," which was the objective of the Rhee regime and its imperialist backers.

IRREFUTABLE TESTIMONY

Earl said he finally asked to be returned to this country to explain to Washington what was going on. "I did not think the American labor movement should lend itself to anything so corrupt," he said. But his request was denied. He was evacuated after the disintegrating Rhee army abandoned Seoul.

These facts could be an eye-witness, a well-known union leader who is not a Stalinist and who supports the Marshall Plan, confirm that the Korean people hate and despise the Rhee regime. They are supporting the North Korean army which is leading the popular struggle against the Rhee dregs and against the invading forces of U.S. imperialism, backed up by the Canadian ally, which are seeking to subjugate Rhee upon them.

RAIL UNIONS REJECT "FINAL" CN-CP OFFER

August 11 — Over 121,000 railway workers in the nation's railroads are preparing for strike. The deadline, backed up by an almost unanimous vote, has been set for August 22. Detailed directives have been sent out by union officials to members scattered along the web of railway lines that span the continent to show CNR and CPR big guns that the railworkers mean business.

In the face of ominous threats and predictions of the direst consequences if the workers strike, union representatives rejected the final offer of the railroad barons. The railway unions, at one time at the top of the heap in wages, hours and conditions, are demanding a five-day, 40-hour week and a seven-and-a-half-hour wage increase in their present take-home pay. Final CNR-CPR offer was recognition of the 40-hour week in principle, whatever that may mean, a 44-hour week with the same take-home pay and an straight wage increase—about one third of what the workers are asking for.

The offer was made by Donald Gordon, recently appointed president of the government-owned CNR, who also acted on behalf of the nationalized CPR in making the final, takeit-or-leave-it offer. Gordon, who since his presidential appointment, has been carrying on a rich good-relations campaign, repeated his stock in warn the unions that if they rejected the offer they would live to regret it.

So far the government has refused to enter into the dispute other than to prepare Trans-Canada Air Lines for border strike-breaking efforts in sharp contrast to its granting of a 15 per cent increase in freight rates in less than two years. It has refused to order the CNR to reconsider the union's modest demands and threaten have the weather CPR to do likewise.

Despite threats, loud patriotic [illegible] about Korea, and shouts about those leaders who have [illegible] a backbone resistance, the rank and file are firm in their determination [illegible]

#169

PAGE 9 of 11

Spector's Statement to Canadian Party

December 1, 1928.

We print herewith in part the statement of Comrade Spector to the Political Committee of the Communist Party at its meeting on Nov. 6th, 1928 in response to the demand that he state his position on the expulsion of Cannon, Abern and Shachtman from the Workers (Communist) Party of America and on the issues connected with the expulsion. As reported in the last number of The Militant Comrade Spector was forthwith suspended from the party and removed from all responsible positions. Since then he was declared expelled from the party for refusing to retract his stand.

In view of the great prominence and popularity of Comrade Spector as the outstanding Communist leader in Canada his arbitrary expulsion has made a sensation in the labor movement and has called forth the greatest indignation of the rank and file of the Party. Comrade Spector was elected to the Executive Committee of the Communist International at the Sixth World Congress. He has been for years the Chairman of the Party and editor of its organs, the Canadian Worker and the Canadian Labor Monthly. He represented the Communist Party of Canada at the Fourth and Sixth World Congresses of the Communist International.—Editor.

Toronto, November 6th, 1928.

To The Political Committee,
Communist Party of Canada,

Following upon the motion at yesterday's session of the Polcom to endorse the expulsion of the three comrades J. P. Cannon, Max Shachtman, and Martin Abern, from the Workers Party of America for their stand on behalf of the opening of a serious discussion of the fundamental problems of the Communist International, a motion which I was unable to support, certain questions have been directed to me by the Polcom as to my own position. These may be boiled down to the following:

First whether I believe that the ideological line of "Trotskyism" is correct and whether I am prepared to carry on an aggressive campaign against Trotskyism and the comrades who have been expelled from the W. P. for their solidarity with the platform of the Russian Opposition.

In reply to the question whether I am prepared "to wage an aggressive campaign against 'Trotskyism'," I can assure the Polcom that I am prepared to wage an aggressive campaign for Leninism. Historical Trotskyism was liquidated with the entrance of L. D. Trotsky into the Communist Party and his collaboration with Lenin following his return to Russia in 1917. Trotsky has declared before the Russian Party that in all questions bearing any character of principle at all, in which he had differences with Lenin prior to 1917, Lenin was correct. The revival of the issue of so-called "Trotskyism" by the majority in 1924 and 1925 was an attempt to obscure the real issues by an artificial issue. Zinoviev who was one of the leading comrades in the fight against Trotsky has not only admitted since that the latter was correct in his fight for internal Party democracy in 1923-24, but also that the issue of "Trotskyism" was then invented by himself and a few other comrades for strategical purposes, to link up the current differences with differences that had long passed into history.

The comrades in the vanguard of the fight against "Trotskyism," were most of them further removed from the position of Lenin on his return to Russia and his presentation of the April Theses of 1917, than L. D. Trotsky. Zinoviev and Kamenev, Rykov, Losovsky, etc: were opposed to the insurrection by which the Bolsheviks conquered power and were for a coalition of all the Socialist Parties. Comrade Stalin, prior to Lenin's return had written articles for co-operation with Tseretelli. When so much is made of the differences between Trotsky and Lenin during the course of the revolution itself, it should be borne in mind that all these differences are being exaggerated and distorted for factional ends, and that silence is maintained on the differences that other comrades, Bucharin for instance, had with Lenin but who are nevertheless regarded as one hundred percent Leninists. Comrade Bucharin not only fought Lenin on the Brest Litovsk question but also on a Trade Union question, and on the question of State Capitalism. On the Peasant question he was the author of one of the most dangerous slogans ever put out by a leading comrade, the slogan of "enrich yourselves," the objective significance of which meant a call on the Kulaks to intensify their exploitation of the poor peasantry. The present leader of the C. I., Bucharin, had to be overruled on the question of the validity of partial demands in the Communist Program by the intervention of Lenin, Trotsky and others at the Fourth Congress.

Not only did Lenin during his lifetime deny all slanderous rumors of any differences between himself and Trotsky on the Peasant Question, but up to his last days he considered L. D. Trotsky his closest collaborator as may be seen by the correspondence which passed between these two leaders of the revolution in the letter to the Institute of Party History by L. D. Trotsky. Lenin called upon the latter to defend his views for him on the following questions, the National Question, the Question of Workers and Peasants Control, the Monopoly of Foreign trade, the struggle against Bureaucracy, etc. It is high time that a stop be put to the falsification of Party history that has accompanied the unscrupulous and demagogic campaign against the revolutionist who next to Lenin was the most authentic leader and organizer of the October Revolution, and was so recognized by Lenin himself. Trotsky today stands foursquare for the maintenance of the principles of Leninism, uncontaminated by the opportunist deviations that have been smuggled into the Comintern and U.S.S.R. policy by the present

Rykov-Stalin-Bucharin regime and to which the lessons of the Chinese revolution, the economic situation in the U.S.S.R., the situation within the C.P.S.U., and the experiences of the Anglo-Russian Committee bear eloquent witness.

For these latter are the real issues. In retrospect it is clear that the Sixth Congress, meeting after a delay of four years, nevertheless failed to measure up to its great tasks. Eclecticism and a zig-zag line replaced a real analysis of the rich treasures of political experience of the past four years. The discussion of the Chinese revolution, the greatest upheaval since the November revolution, was utterly inadequate. As in the case of discussion of the failure of October 1923 in Germany, the attempt to throw major responsibility for what happened in China on the leadership of a Chinese Communist Party will not down. The responsibility for the opportunist policy of our Party in China lies in the first place with the Ex. Committee of the Comintern and with the formulations of policy of Stalin, Bucharin, Martynov. Lenin at the II Congress proposed a clear line in the Colonial question, for the independence of the Communist Parties and the working class movement even in embryonic form; against the National bourgeoisie, struggle for proletarian hegemony in the the National emancipation movement even when the National Revolution has only bourgeois democratic tasks to solve; constant propaganda of the Soviet idea and creation of Soviets at the earliest moment possible; finally, possibility of the non-capitalist development of backward colonial and semi-colonial countries on condition that they receive support from the U.S.S.R. and the proletariat of the advanced capitalist countries.

Otherwise, Lenin pointed out, the alliance with the national bourgeoisie would be dangerous to the revolution. This alliance could only be affected on the basis that the bourgeoisie carried on an effective struggle against imperialism and did not prevent the Communist Party from organizing the revolutionary action of the workers and peasants. Failure to exact these guarantees would lead to a repetition of the Kemalism of the Turkish national struggle which has made its peace with Imperialism. Nearly every one of these cardinal points of Lenin's revolutionary colonial policies was violated in China. By throwing out the smoke screen that the creation of Soviets would be tantamount to the dictatorship of the proletariat, despite the fact that Lenin proposed the Soviets already as a form of the democratic dictatorship of workers and peasants in the 1905 revolution, the leadership of the Comintern misrepresented the criticism and theses of the opposition and covered up their own opportunist mistakes.

Our Chinese party was subordinated to the National bourgeoisie in the Kuomintang under cover of the old Menshevik Martynov policy of the "Block of Four Classes" (renunciation of right to criticize Kuomintang from the outside, renunciation of the right to criticize Sun Yat Senism, renunciation of an illegal fighting apparatus, and of the creation of cells in the National Army.) The working class movement was subordinated to the Government of the National bourgeoisie (prohibition in certain cases of picketing and strikes, disarmament of the workers, etc.) The C.P. maintained silence at the beginning of the repression period (coup d'etat of Chiang Kai Shek etc.) The enlarged Executive of the C. I. did not subsequently straighten out the line. The slogan of Soviets was issued not when the revolutionary movement was at its height but when the bourgeoisie had already betrayed and the workers and peasants were being decimated. Stalin was making a speech still hailing Chiang Kai Shek as a revolutionary warrior only a few days prior to Chiang Kai Shek coup in a speech, which was criticized at the time by Comrade Radek, and which was of course suppressed to avoid compromising himself.

The opportunist line followed in the Chinese rev-

THE WORKERS VANGUARD #169 - Nov. 10, 1969

olution is of course by no means isolated. I have dwelt at some length on the opportunist line followed in the refusal to break with the traitorous British General Council in the Anglo-Russian Committee. The Anglo-Russian Committee was a political block between two trade union centres. The proposal of the opposition demonstratively to break with the General Coucil was falsely represented as being a parallel to leaving the old unions. Any Communist who reads the resolutions adopted by the Anglo-Russian conferences of Paris, July 1926 and Berlin, August 1926 and finally of the Berlin conference at the beginning of April 1927 should convince themselves that an absolutely impermissable capitulation line was followed. At the latter meeting the Soviet representatives went on record recognizing the General Council, "as the sole representative and spokesman" of the British Trade Union movement at a time when the traitors of the General Council were suppressing the minority movement. But at the Enlarged Executive of May 1927, Comrade Bucharin sought to justify the Berlin capitulation by the theory of "exceptional circumstances," that is, that it was in the diplomatic interests of the Soviet Union which was under threat of war danger from the provocation of the British Government.

Such an attitude has little in common with the instructions of Lenin to the Soviet delegation that went to the Hague Conference, to ruthlessly unmask the Pacifists and Reformists. By the policy pursued in the Anglo-Russian Committee the British Communist Party developed such a degree of opportunism that it was at first even opposed to the Soviet Trade Union manifesto announcing the treachery of the Left as well as the Right Labor fakers of the General Council and wanted to continue a fight for the re-establishment of the moribund Anglo-Russian Committee. The whole line followed in the Anglo-Russian Committee was, like that in the Chinese Revolution, based on manoevers with the reformists at the top instead of regard for the unleashing of the mass movement below.

The economic analysis of the opposition on the situation within the U.S.S.R. on the danger of the growth of the Kulak, the Nep man, and the bureaucrat has been swiftly vindicated. Undoubtedly there are Thermidorean elements in the country which are striving to bring their class pressure to bear on the Party. The highest duty of a revolutionist is to warn of these dangers and to propose the necessary measures to combat them. That was always the case while Lenin was alive. The crisis last February in connection with the grain collection proved strikingly the danger of the Kulak. The events in Smolensk, the Don Basin, the Ukraine, etc. proved the absolute necessity not only for such a campaign of self-criticism as Comrade Stalin felt the need to initiate but for effective internal Party democracy. One of the first guarantees of such real Party democracy would be the return of the exiled revolutionary oppositionists and their reinstatement with full rights to their former positions in the Party.

I have been a foundation member of the Communist Party of Canada since its organization in which I took a joint part. I have also been a member of the C.E.C. practically all the time since. Regardless of the immediate organizational consequences, I find myself compelled to make the above statement and to further register the fact that nothing on earth can separate me from the Revolutionary Communist movement. Everything that I have stated flows from my convictions that the deviations from Leninism in the C.I. can and must be corrected by a struggle within the International and its sections.

Long live the Communist International!

Long live the Proletarian Revolution!

MAURICE SPECTOR.

In The Next Issue

"THE JULY PLENUM AND THE RIGHT DANGER"

By L. D. Trotsky

This Leninist analysis of the present conflict in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has just been received and is now being translated for publication in the next issue of the Militant. The wild rumors in the Capitalist Press and the silence of the officials party organs throw no light whatever on the swiftly-moving and momentous developments now taking place in the Soviet Union and in the Communist Party there. Trotsky's article throws a clear and searching light on the entire situation, analyzes the class forces at work, explains the position and role of the conflicting groups in the party and indicates the revolutionary bolshevik policy for the solution of the problems.

 #170

Because of Parliamentary Dogmatism

NDP Lags Behind

by Ross Dowson

When the Big Business spokesmen and machine bureaucrats who operate the Liberal party took the bold action of placing Pierre Elliott Trudeau at the helm of that party and in the office of prime minister they were recognizing the developing mood of impatience and frustration across the country, particularly among the youth, with the whole process of parliamentary democracy and with bourgeois democratic institutions themselves. They wanted to give the Liberal party machine that has served the capitalist class of Canada so long and faithfully a new image — an image of dynamic social change. They sought votes, new and effective public spokesmen, and they sought to divert the whole youthful protest into harmless channels. They got votes. They got new MPs. But they haven't turned off the revolution of rising expectations.

Instead of an image of idealism, of dedication to the establishment of a "just society," Trudeau has been coming through as a patrician, a snob and a flippant, somewhat cynical operator.

The Ottawa correspondent of the *Toronto Star*, which did so much to expedite the rise of Trudeau, expresses the developing concern in top Liberal circles this way: "Democratic institutions are already under sceptical scruntiny by the young, and they can only be further weakened if Trudeau proves a continuing disappointment unable to satisfy those who saw in him the opportunity to revitalize the political process."

The dialogue which Trudeau and associates talk of never comes off and ends up as a mish-mash of platitudes covering up actions that maintain the status quo. All the procedural innovations serve only to step up the tendency to cut out the niceties of parliamentary debate, including the pretence that the views of the opposition and even the Liberal back benchers are of any importance whatsoever. The myth can no longer hide the reality — the essential rottenness of the political process designed entirely to serve the interests of the financial industrial oligarchy, its continuing and growing anti-democratic and anti-social character.

The whole situation is even causing Liberal party intellectual apologists such as former MP Pauline Jewett to feel "a kind of malaise." "The calibre of the members is very good," she says, "but there is a general feeling that parliament has become irrelevant. I wonder whether Parliament can really do anything."

A member elected to the House last June, thirty year old Pierre de Bane, former assistant to then justice minister Trudeau, protests that MPs "are dummies" and "parliament is not more than a rubber stamp." He says he is not consulted about what is going on — even what is going to happen in the riding he presumably represents. He is informed through the daily press. "The influence of parliaments all over the world is shrinking," he muses, and sees the real power as being in the hands of the senior civil servants.

This growing scepticism about parliamentary democracy reaching into every level, a completely necessary stage in the political development of the Canadian people, instead of inspiring the NDP leadership with the possibilities of building and leading a powerful movement for social change, is causing them grave concern. As NDP MP Ed Broadbent notes, "a good number of young people are bypassing us too. They see us as being concerned with a little more — more pensions, more benefits—instead of being concerned with making a qualitative change in society."

The Ontario NDP leadership has attempted to answer this scepticism and the desire of the ranks that the party turn left to meet it, by talk about politics of confrontation. This was the mood that permeated the Ontario leadership convention and which resulted in the passage of a series of far reaching resolutions. Since then the NDP MPPs have even taken a few hesitant steps in the direction of what Donald Macdonald has called "politics of involvement."

When the Ontario parliamentary caucus left Queen's Park, missing the Speech from the Throne to join the picket line at the struck Proctor-Silex plant in Picton, in defiance of a court injunction limiting the line to six persons, they were charged by Liberal leader Robert Nixon with showing "a disdain for the democratic process." Later a group of them appeared on the Peterborough *Examiner* picket line

→ to page 2

CONFRONTATION. New Democratic members of the Ontario legislature left the parliamentary chambers for the picket line to demonstrate solidarity with strikers at Peterborough Examiner. Cop photographs NDP leader Donald Macdonald.

and protested police taking mug shots of the line.

But since then the Ontario MPPs have sunk back into the house and lost themselves in the parliamentary game — perhaps not without differences in their ranks.

The fact is that while the NDP is a labor party formation based on the unions and containing within its ranks important socialist forces, the concept that is held by many radicalizing youth that it is an integral part of the establishment is well founded.

The NDP is not just a party which happens to have members in parliament and is seeking to increase their number It is committed to a policy that it can achieve power only and exclusively through the parliamentary process. Parliamentarism permeates the party — in fact it can rightly claim to be the only real parliamentarist party. The Liberal and Tory parties have on innumerable occasions demonstrated their readiness to violate every rule of parliamentary democracy. Their counterparts elsewhere, when the need arose, have dumped the system in its entirety by dictatorial fist and decree, employing the armed force residing in the capitalist state apparatus.

In this period of questioning of parliamentary democracy the NDP leadership sees as its main task to warn the bourgeois parties of the dangers that their actions will undercut the authority of parliamentary institutions, destroy this facade that has been erected to cover over naked capitalist rule, and leave the workers no recourse but to take extra-parliamentary means to defend and extend their interests.

Instead of conceiving parliament as one of the arenas of struggle, of confrontation with the bourgeois ideologues for the building of a socialist movement — the MPs serving as tribunes of the workers — the NDP has turned parliament into the highest principle. While falsely rejecting socialism with the charge that it is a dogma, the NDP leadership are completely dogmatic about the parliamentary system as being the path to socialism — notwithstanding the fact that no lasting achievements for socialism have been won anywhere via the parliamentary path, but only through revolution.

The rigid dogmatic parliamentarist role of the NDP has inevitably resulted in the misdirection of certain radical youth into syndicalist lines — into a strategy based on direct actions around specific conjunctural events that inevitably fail to generalize into political conclusions and fail to link up with the struggles of the working class, the key force for social change.

It can even be said that the narrow parliamentarism of the NDP and of trade unionism that bases itself on strict adherence to all the boss-government imposed rules of the collective bargaining process, shares considerable responsibility for the misdirection of the most idealistic and self-sacrificing of Quebec's youth in futile terror bombing.

It is this narrow dogmatism of the NDP that gives such vital importance to the work of groups within it such as the Socialist Caucus, and the League for Socialist Action/Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière, which supports the NDP as the mass political expression of the working people but is building the vanguard force that is necessary to establish a socialist Canada.

#170

CBC, P.O. Strikes Mar CLC-Trudeau Love-in

The LABOR SCENE

When Prime Minister Trudeau, Minister of Labor Bryce Mackasey, and their entourage, met the leadership of the Canadian Labor Congress for the presentation of its annual brief last month, everything was sweetness and light. Mr. Trudeau lavished praise on the leaders of organized labor and waxed ecstatic about his minister of labor. The CLC leadership who had already been fullsomely praising the new minister to their members beamed under the atmosphere of good fellowship.

Meanwhile behind the facade of an entente cordiale which the CLC leadership are warming up to with such fatuous pleasure, two of Mr. Trudeau's chief lieutenants — Eric Kierans, the postmaster general and Secretary of State Gérard Pelletier, in charge of the CBC, were swinging into action.

On March 17, 500 Toronto CBC employees walked off the job in what might well be the first of a series of rotating strikes right across the country. The CBC had previously agreed that members of the Association of Radio and Television Employees of Canada, whose average wage is $100 a week, had slipped behind wage standards of other CBC employees. According to chief negotiator Fernand Daoust, "negotiations broke down when the CBC insulted us with an offer of less than they made last week before a strike vote."

Only nine days earlier Postmaster-General Kierans was threatening some 700 striking postal workers with fines of $100 a day and their unions with fines of $500 a day. He cried that he would ask the public service staff relations board to declare the series of strikes that were spreading across the country illegal and to give his department permission to prosecute employees, union leaders, and the unions themselves.

The wildcat strikes were triggered by no less than the Honorable Mr. Kierans when he introduced a whole new series of work procedures. "They presented us with a new routine completely different from the one spelled out in the contract we signed last year," said Roger Décarie, president of the Letter Carriers Union. "They only consulted with us after having worked it all out themselves, and then they put it to us on a 'take-it-or-else' basis."

Of course it could be that Prime Minister Trudeau is quite unaware of what his secretary of state and his postmaster general are doing and is unaware of both the postal workers wildcats and the strike of crown corporation CBC employees. It is also possible that Labor Minister Bryce Mackasey, whom Mr. Trudeau has praised as "the best labor minister any prime minister ever had" is surrounded by cabinet colleagues who have not been won over to what the CLC leadership has been telling us is his enlightened approach.

It is also possible that the 1½ million strong ranks of Canadian organized labor with all their hopes and ambitions for a new and better Canada are saddled with a clique of bureaucrats who are unworthy of them and incapable of leading them forward in struggle against the big business interests who own this country and rule it through Pierre Elliott Trudeau and his government.

Sysco Wildcats

The honeymoon between the government-appointed management and the Steelworkers union leadership at the Sydney, Nova Scotia steel plant ended when the morning shift walked off the job and the second shift didn't report in on March 10 at the 2,800 man operation.

(See page 4)

. . . Sysco Strike

(Continued from page 1)

Attempts of Local 1064's president Martin Merner and his executive to get the men back on the job were met with violent denunciations by the ranks — their opposition strengthened by a "coordinating committee" composed of rank and file militants and grievance committeemen from every section of the sprawling plant.

Sysco's boss, R. B. Cameron, has been eulogized far and wide through the mass media as the savior of the operation which the Dosco interests unilaterally decided to close down almost two years ago and then turned over on favorable terms to the provincial government. The fact that the plant is now running in the black is being attributed to the drive and energy of Cameron — with the implication that the workers were lazy and inefficient.

The union leadership has been trying to get its share of the eulogies. Their efforts to preserve the misalliance by getting the men back on the job to "give the executive a chance to discuss" with the company was vigorously rebuffed by the workers support of the coordinating committee's demands upon which they insisted there be immediate action.

Four of the six demands call for the elimination of specific outside contractors who have been brought into the plant. The fifth demand is for a complete investigation of the foundry and of shipping of work to two other foundries one of which has Cameron as its president. The sixth is for an explanation of the demolition of a shipping pier which will mean the loss of several hundred jobs until it is replaced. According to a spokesman of the committee these are not the only complaints. There is also the delay in the signing of a new working agreement, pension rights, etc. When Dosco threatened closure of the plant, the union, already in the midst of negotiating new wage rates, dropped them. The cost of living has continued to go up and this year the company showed a 2½ million dollar profit.

After the two day wildcat the workers returned to the job. But there is a new atmosphere in the shop. The coordinating committee is raising issues involving workers intervention in the traditional perogatives of management, in fact posing the whole question of workers control of the operation. This idea was projected by Ross Dowson in the LSA campaign for a labor candidate in the nearby Colchester-Hants by-election on Black Friday, Oct 13, 1967. He urged that the Sydney mill be nationalized and, along with the Tory government-subsidized Industrial Estates Limited projects, placed in the hands of planning boards with skilled technicians at their disposal composed of representatives of the workers, farmers and small shopkeepers throughout the province.

Teacher Struggles

Toronto school teachers are gaining a better insight into their shaky job status and a clearer understanding of the need to transform their federation into a union. Across the city the Board of Education is unilaterally increasing the number of pupils per class and the number of classes taught per week. Now the Board is driving a highly qualified teacher, Friona Nelson, out of the profession in the Metro Toronto area on the basis of criticisms of the board that she made during her campaign in last year's municipal election, and for her political beliefs — she is an NDPer.

On March 7 almost her entire class of Grade 8 science students, without her knowledge but with the approval of their parents, put a protest picket line in front of the Board of Education building demanding the reinstatement of Mrs. Nelson.

Mrs. Nelson has asked the minister of education for a public board of enquiry. The Teachers' Federation has agreed to provide a lawyer and pay legal fees.

Jim Forrester of the Metro bargaining committee told the York borough of the Ontario Secondary School Teachers Federation that there is no such thing as good will in negotiations with the Board. You have to negotiate from strength. Assessing recent experiences of the federation, he said they must be prepared to go on strike as the American Teachers Federation has done. They must be willing to collaborate with the elementary school teachers and must develop professionally prepared negotiators. He also suggested that they should consider boycotting the teacher-board relations committees. We're through with talking, he said. We want to negotiate.

— by P. Kent

THE WORKERS
VANGUARD

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Set by Union Labor.

Slam the Door on OAS

by The Editors

Can there be any doubt that Canada is about to join the Organization of American States? Two years ago Paul Martin, then external affairs minister, described membership in the OAS as Canada's "ultimate destiny." Last fall, when five federal cabinet ministers and their entourage returned from a month-long "exploratory mission" in nine countries south of the Rio Grande, External Affairs Minister Mitchell Sharp described it as "a turning point in our relations with Latin America." Sharp's latest comments, following his closed door tête-à-tête with academic advisers, confirm the Trudeau government's inclination to join the OAS.

Interestingly, government spokesmen are not publicly arguing the case for OAS membership. On the contrary, Sharp seems positively eager to avoid debate, choosing instead to sneak Canada into the OAS through the back door. His public reticence is understandable, if rather misleading. For even the accomplished mystifiers of the Liberal cabinet would be hard put to argue the wretched rhetoric of "free world" solidarity will respect to this rag-tag bag of banana republics and military dictatorships, all of them stooges for Yankee imperialism in its ruthless exploitation of the subcontinent. The OAS is an alliance against progress — and in the first place, against the revolutionary example of Cuba.

It's not common knowledge, but Canada is already as firmly committed to this reactionary alliance as it can be, short of actual membership. The government participates in three technical sub-bodies of the OAS. It recently signed over a substantial loan to the Bolivian military junta. Canadian investment in Latin America has more than doubled in the last 15 years. The government is under growing pressure from private business to join the OAS.

The businessmen's hopes were baldly outlined in a recent speech by Antonio Toledo, president of Benson and Hedges (Canada) Ltd. He told the Toronto Board of Trade that "joining the OAS should only be the beginning." Latin America, he said, has almost unlimited potential as a market for Canadian products. Best of all, "the great jungles, rivers and mountains will provide vast pulp and paper and mining industries, and power developments — the very industries in which Canada has developed unique talents."

Mitchell Sharp, a former top executive of Brazilian Traction, the giant power and telephone monopoly in Brazil, is not unacquainted with these opportunities.

As a member of the OAS, Canada will be expected to sign the Rio Treaty with obliges a member to break off relations with any state which two-thirds of the OAS members don't like. In 1967, the OAS voted 20 to 0 to end member states' trade with Cuba. U.S. domination of the alliance is so notorious that even Sharp admitted following his Latin American tour that several governments had advised Canada not to join, that they were "dissatisfied" with the operations of the OAS.

But U.S. domination doesn't concern Sharp. His hand-picked academic advisers assure him this is "an irrelevant consideration," he says.

And if you're squeamish about aligning this country with some more military dictatorships, Minister Without Portfolio Otto Lang certainly isn't. He told a recent University of Manitoba conference that we should be "tolerant and patient with these dictatorships." In his view, he said, democracy is not applicable in the Latin American countries.

Possibly Prime Minister Trudeau, who not very long ago described the developing armed struggle in Latin America as "a time bomb on our doorstep," regards this new area of Canadian influence as a fertile field of operations for his projected "peacekeeping" forces. (Canadian troops have already trained in counter-guerrilla warfare in Puerto Rico.) Will OAS membership involve Canada directly in future peacekeeping operations like that carried out in 1965 by the U.S. Marines in the Dominican Republic?

What do the Canadian working people — who have no stake in Latin American business investments — have to say about the government's ominous moves? The NDP is firmly committed by convention resolution to oppose OAS membership.

The Canadian people have every interest in forging closer ties with Latin Americans — not with the corrupt military cliques and oligarchies which rule the OAS member states, but with the oppressed millions striking out along the road of struggle against illiteracy, poverty and degradation — the road pioneered with such success by revolutionary Cuba.

Campaign for The 8-Pager

The campaign to double the size of the *Workers Vanguard* to 8 pages by May 1st is off to a good start. Already readers have pledged $5,540 — almost half our objective of $13,000. From Vancouver, $1,400; Toronto, $2,740, Toronto area and Hamilton-Niagara, $200 each. No word yet from several other areas where we anticipate a good response, but we're sure they'll come through!

Readers of our sister publication in Quebec, *La Lutte Ouvrière*, which is collaborating with us in the joint La Lutte-Vanguard fund drive, have pledged $1,000.

In this and subsequent issues, we are carrying articles like that above showing how the *Vanguard* reported key developments in the international and Canadian labor-socialist movement. What we were able to accomplish with a tiny 4-page monthly, only suggests the possibilities with the expanded twice-monthly paper the fund drive is aiming for.

The first scoreboard will appear in the next issue. So keep those dollars coming. Make sure we go over the top on May 1st to an 8-page *Workers Vanguard*.

NDP Challenges ABM, Then Endorses NATO

by Anne Macdonald

The failure of the Liberals and Conservatives to condemn Nixon's ABM decision is not surprising to anyone who has observed how big business in Canada profits from selling arms to the U.S. military establishment for use against the Vietnamese people. No doubt the government's Canada Commercial Corporation which actively solicits arms contracts from U.S. business and government agencies, will be seeking out similar lucrative subcontracts for the construction of missile components.

But how has the New Democratic Party, which presumes to speak for the working people of this country, responded to Nixon's dangerous escalation of the arms race? Did the party's parliamentary representatives demand that the full truth be told about any commitments which may bind Canada to the ABM project through its membership in the North American Air Defense agreement? Did the NDP draw the obvious lessons of this new example of the government's complicity in U.S. imperialist policy, and re-examine their own support of the keystone of that policy, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)? Did they use the parliamentary tribune to mobilize support among the Canadian working people for an end to the collaboration of successive Liberal-Tory regimes with the aggressive designs of the Pentagon and State Department, and call for a fundamental reorientation of Canada's foreign and defense policies toward solidarity with the world forces of peace and socialism?

Not at all, unfortunately. In the house of commons at Ottawa and in the Saskatchewan legislature, NDP members did force special debates on the ABM decision. But instead of condemning the monstrous provocation these nuclear missiles present, NDP spokesmen did little more than raise a few cautious, almost apologetic, questions.

And a few days later, in a minority report on the Commons' External Affairs Committee recommendation of continued membership in NATO, the NDP members, including deputy leader David Lewis, supported Canada's membership in NATO. They urged withdrawal of Canadian forces from Europe, but repeated the party's proposal for a mobile force which could be used as an airborne NATO reserve or made available to the United Nations as a "peacekeeping" force. The statement also expressed the pathetically naive hope that NATO "should live up to charter provisions by taking appropriate action to help restore democracy in Greece and establish free institutions in Portugal."

Pointed Toward Canada?

NDP leader T. C. Douglas' major complaint about the ABM proposal was that Canada, a "friend" of the U.S. and ally in NATO and NORAD, was not sufficiently consulted. "We want to be friends and neighbors" of the United States, Douglas stated, "but not subservient."

When a doubting External Affairs Minister Sharp twice asked Douglas if he supported both NATO and NORAD, the latter replied both times, "I support them." Later in his speech, Douglas explained his position with a most remarkable rationalization: "As long as Canada is a signatory to those agreements, then as a citizen of this country of course I must support them."

According to that logic, no military pact could be publicly opposed until terminated.

On the face of it, the NDP parliamentary caucus' position is to the right of the Toronto *Star*, Postmaster General Eric Kierans and the Young Liberals — all of whom have called, for their own reasons, of course, for Canadian withdrawal from NATO. Its proposals exactly parallel those of the former Chief of Staff of the Canadian armed forces, Gen. Foulkes.

Successive party conventions have demanded withdrawal from NORAD and NATO should the latter become a nuclear alliance — which it is officially acknowledged to be. The caucus' disregard for convention decisions is no different from Harold Wilson's contemptuous flouting of the views of the British Labor party rank and file. Is the only difference between Wilson and Douglas that one is in power, and thus more treacherous, while the other is not?

The NDP leadership obstinately refuses to break with the cold war mentality of critical support for the "West," that is, U.S. imperialism. They see the U.S. role in Vietnam, and the Canadian government's complicity in the war, not as the inherent consequence of capitalist economic political rule that it is, but rather as tragic "mistakes," aberrations resulting from the shortsightedness of ill-informed advisers and otherwise well-intentioned statesmen — our "friends and allies."

The Socialist Caucus statement reproduced on this page demands that the NDP leadership respect the will of the membership. Continued failure to do so will lead growing numbers of party members and supporters to the inevitable conclusion — that the struggle for a consistent anti-war, anti-capitalist program requires a parallel struggle to build a new, a socialist leadership.

RAND PROTEST. Part of the march in Hamilton against anti-labor laws.

Hamilton Labor March

by Paul Kent

HAMILTON — Well over 3,000, some estimate as many as 5,000 unionists participated in the March 29 protest demonstration through the downtown area onto City Hall. They were joined by women with children, students from McMaster University, and others who had been out Saturday shopping.

The march was organized to protest the union-busting recommendations of the commission struck off by the Conservative Robarts government and headed up by the late Justice Rand. But as it built it became much more than a Rand Protest demonstration.

It became a day of protest against all anti-labor legislation already in force, and against anti-labor judgments of the courts, against the ever-mounting tax gouging, and against continually rising prices — revealed by the placards carried by the marchers, many of them hastily hand-drawn. And it became a day of protest against the failure of the labor leadership to lead in any and every area of concern to the ranks.

The debate three weeks earlier in the labor council was the hottest in years. The council executive headed by Stewart Cooke rejected the proposal for a united Rand protest demonstration from the Building Trades Council and supported by the dissident leadership of the 12,000-member Steelworkers Local 1005. Not that there is any dispute as to the anti-labor character of the Rand report itself. The labor brass have made many and quite trenchant criticisms of the report; however they are convinced that the Ontario government is not going to put it into legislation. But there is a developing impatience with labor taking anything more at all from the union-busters, and a genuine desire to protest and fight back is beginning to develop in labor's ranks.

The LABOR SCENE

When Cooke advocated a further campaign of education and briefs, electrician delegate John Lewis yelled out "You're scared. You don't think you've got the support of your membership because you haven't given any leadership in the past years." Another delegate challenged that students, black people and civil rights advocates are protesing everywhere, but not unionists, because their leadership has become conservative.

The delegates turned down the proposal by a narrow margin but the preparations for the march went ahead anyway. The United Electrical Workers (independent), representing workers in several shops including the big Westinghouse operation, and the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, also on the outside of the labor council, joined in behind the Building Trades and Local 1005 to give the whole project a new momentum.

The mood of the demonstration was one of militancy and confidence that it was only a beginning, a new turn towards struggle. March organizer Terry Fraser likened it to the massive 1946 demonstrations of labor solidarity with the imperilled steelworkers which beat the Stelco bosses to their knees and forged Local 1005 in the flames of battle.

Teamster local president Ray Taggart told the gathering that it felt good to march with Hamilton Labor and the Teamsters were going to do it some more.

"This is going to catalyse an entire province-wide demonstration which will make Queens Park shudder," predicted John Ball of the UE. Trades Council business manager Al Davidson challenged that "we have more reason to protest than we ever had before, and those of us who have marched through the streets of the city of Hamilton are the vanguard of many more to come in the short period ahead."

The organizers left the door open for the brass to come in. When Stewart Cooke rose to speak there was a ripple of dissent. But Cooke congratulated the Building Trades Council for their "fine" march and won strong applause when he identified himself with the NDP and urged that labor representatives oust from government the representatives of those who have taken over control of the economy. Earlier, as they passed by the site of the Ontario Liberal party convention, the marchers booed roundly.

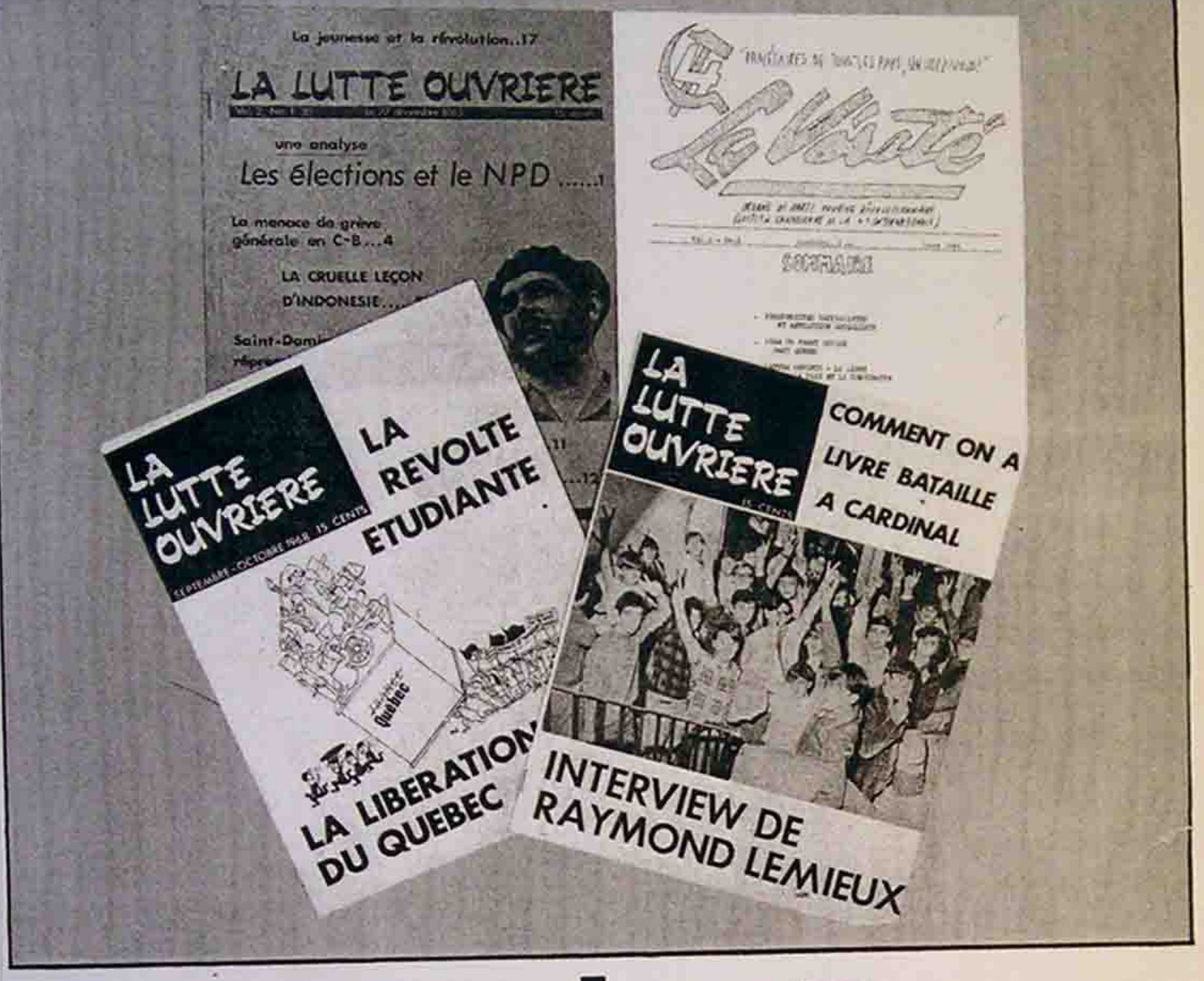
* * * *

The federal government's Task Force on Labor Relations, chaired by Prof. H. D. Woods, has just handed down its massive report.

The labor brass, having made the record on the Rand Report, have been buttering up to Labor Minister Mackasey and taking comfort in leads about the much more "reasonable" character of the Woods Report. The somewhat hysterical reaction of Communist Party spokesmen to the Rand report (they call it "fascist"), while appearing more militant and effective, in fact actually supplements their policy — for if the Rand Report is fascist, truly *anything* would be better.

The Woods report will have to be studied. Government spokesmen who will be measuring labor's response will have to be watched to assess their reactions — for when you get down to it, everything is going to be decided by the relationship of class forces.

#171,



Our Quebec Press

by Arthur Young
Editor, *La Lutte Ouvrière*

With its current issue, *La Lutte Ouvrière* (The Workers Struggle) enters its fifth year of publication. Born during the so-called "Quiet Revolution," *La Lutte* and the ideas it stands for have made steady progress while the Quiet Revolution is universally recognized as long since dead.

From the start, *La Lutte Ouvrière* set itself a triple role: providing information on and analysis of the international revolutionary struggle, educating the growing Quebec vanguard to the ideas of revolutionary Marxism and Trotskyism, and showing that the only possible Québec libre is a socialist Quebec.

In its first issue, published on November 15, 1964, the lead article was entitled "The Permanent Revolution and *parti pris*." The editors of *parti pris*, at that time the biggest and best-known publication in the national left, held that the Quebec left should critically support the Lesage-Lévesque Liberal party and the French Canadian "national" bourgeoisie which they claim was leading a struggle for the national interests of French Canadians against the English Canadian and U.S. monopolies.

La Lutte held on the contrary that this class force would be incapable of realizing even its modest promises to modernize Quebec, as only the Quebec workers could accomplish this on the road to the socialist revolution. It concluded on the need to build a revolutionary party. In 1969 the argument still applies forcefully.

The five-year existence of *La Lutte* is remarkable in the face of the obstacles — the lack of any tradition of labor politics or international perspective, the enthusiasm of the labor and NDP brass for René Lévesque and the Quiet Revolution, the general instability of the Quebec left, the weak forces gathered around the paper at its inception, and police harassment. In 1966 police raided and seized the list of subscribers.

More than a dozen other Quebec socialist publications, faced with many of these same difficulties but lacking *La Lutte's* clear political perspective, have passed out of existence during this period.

La Lutte Ouvrière has had a predecessor. In 1949 the Revolutionary Workers Party (Canadian Section of the Fourth International) issued a French-language publication, *La Vérité* (the Truth). It published at least three mimeographed issues.

In its short life *La Lutte* has well met its triple task. It has been the only journal in Quebec to consistently call for mass opposition to the Vietnam war, and recently it published two special issues in solidarity with the May-June struggle in France. On the theoretical front *La Lutte* has been notable for the numerous Marxist texts which it has published for the first time in Quebec. Among others, it gathered together and published the writings of Marx and Engels on the labor party. These it later published in pamphlet form.

While others have gone under, *La Lutte* has been steadily improving its appearance and increasing its circulation. From a very modest mimeographed journal it has become a printed paper with a press run of several thousand. Some 90 percent of its circulation comes from street sales, at demonstrations and meetings. To cover the difference between our low sales price and production costs, we participate in a joint fund drive with *The Workers Vanguard* each year. Part of the $13,000 the fund is seeking this year will go to aid the continued publication of *La Lutte Ouvrière*.

At present, *La Lutte* appears every two months. Eventually it will become a printed monthly newspaper. This summer *La Lutte* supporters plan to move out energetically in a Trailblazers tour of Quebec. They will take the paper out to socialists, trade unionists and students in all parts of Quebec, creating a real subscription base for the paper, and marking a step forward to the mass socialist Quebec newspaper which is so necessary for the victory of the struggle.

#172

Toronto NDP in Bid for All Aldermanic Posts

A complete NDP slate of aldermanic candidates for Toronto and if possible for the suburbs of Etobicoke and Scarboro, was announced by Reid Scott, former NDP MP for Danforth, in his report from the Toronto Area Council to a Scarboro seminar on municipal politics on March 13. Yet the city mayoralty will not be contested this year, according to Scott because "we already have an NDP mayor." Mayor Dennison disagrees with party politics at a local level and probably won't appear on the NDP slate.

The seminar attended by approximately 75 persons had speakers and workshops on housing, tenants' rights, taxation and local government. Some Scarboro ridings are already lining up candidates.

This action has long been anticipated by many NDP members, aware of the urgent need for a labor alternative in local politics and aware of the great effort such a campaign requires to be successful in the December elections. TAC vice-president Vic Cathers was one of these. In a letter to the TAC he called for better direction to ridings, which had seemed to become disillusioned by the lack of leadership, and for immediate involvement of the labor sector of the TAC. As result the first party-labor meeting between NDP and labor representatives is slated for early May, and a municipal policy convention is planned for September.

CAMPAIGNING WITH THE NDP

* * * *

The NDP's solution to its temporary financial crisis — it owes $100,000 — may only lead it into further difficulties. The federal council's decision to meet the immediate crisis by dumping the *NDP News* and the monthly subsidy of $800 to the New Democratic Youth deprives the movement of two of its most important assets — the federal party's voice outside parliament, and its potential future, its youth movement (or should we say its future, its potential youth movement?).

Surely some other less drastic means could have been found to meet the financial emergency. With close to 100,000 members across Canada, an emergency appeal could have netted a dollar per member without great difficulty.

NDY president Ken Novakowski and federal secretary Bill Lenihan suggest that the move is not just financially motivated. In a letter of protest, they point to political differences between the NDY and NDP on such questions as the role of electoral and direct action politics. They also criticize the decision to cut off youth funds as "undemocratic within the constitution of the party."

by Anne Macdonald

THE WORKERS
VANGUARD

#172 April 21, 1969

Editor: ROSS DOWSON
Managing Editor: DICK FIDLER

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Set by Union Labor.

Bureaucrats Bow to Attack on Labor Press

by The Editors

The disastrous results of the Liberal government's new postal rates legislation, which went into effect April 1, are now clear to see. Having lost their second class mailing rights, two trade union papers, *The Labor Statesman*, published by the B.C. Federation of Labor, and *The Canadian Packinghouse Worker* of the Canadian Food and Allied Workers union, are closing down. Several other leading labor papers, including *The Fisherman, Canadian Transport*, and the west coast IWA's *The Barker*, have drastically reduced their publishing schedules, and many others are facing serious financial crises as a result of an escalation of mailing costs by up to 3,000 per cent. NDP publications have been equally hard hit; the *Commonwealth* has reverted to twice-monthly publication, and the Ontario *New Democrat* is now being issued every two months.

The *Workers Vanguard* is also a victim of the new regulations. We have been deprived of second class mailing rights, although similar independent journals of opinion have been granted them. Our mailing costs have shot up by 700 percent — to more than it costs to print the paper.

The cutback in all these publications is a very serious blow to the Canadian labor movement. Whatever their faults — and in most cases, the trade union publications leave much to be desired in the way of quality — they represent labor's only independent voice. The Trudeau-Kierans postal legislation is a vicious direct attack against one of labor's fundamental rights, its right to free expression.

But if the federal cabinet is using the postal rates legislation as a test case for subsequent anti-labor legislation, they couldn't be more pleased at its results. The labor bureaucrats have howled to high heaven about the obvious injustice of this crucifying attack on labor. And then . . . they've accepted it. Oh sure, the Canadian Labor Congress has held a couple of meetings, and tried to see Kierans to explain their difficulties. In B.C. a protest committee has met and discussed the problem. Everyone agrees it's a terrible situation. But instead of mobilizing the ranks for an all-out counter-attack, through protest demonstrations, perhaps a mass lobby of parliament, and other measures to rouse public support and force the government to throw out its legislation, the brass have simply accommodated to it. The result is a dangerous big step toward stifling the independent voice of the organized labor movement.

Clear Watkins' Name!

When Canadian black power leader Ted Watkins was shot to death last June 2 in Stockton, California, police dismissed demands for an investigation with the claim that Watkins and his brother Clifford had been trying to rob a liquor store. Ted Watkins, an all-star offensive end with the Hamilton Tiger-Cats and co-founder of Toronto's Afro-American Progressive Association, was shot by a white clerk — a notorious racist — and, according to witnesses, left to bleed to death.

Now Clifford Watkins, himself gravely injured in the shooting, has been acquitted by an all-white jury in Stockton on the charge of armed robbery. Ted's widow, Nathalyn Watkins, has filed a "wrongful death" suit. But the case should not stop there. The Black Students' Union at Sacramento City College has demanded a full public inquiry into all the circumstances surrounding Watkins' death. The Canadian government should publicly support their demand and, if it is not granted, conduct one itself. The cops' lying slander against the martyred Ted Watkins is a vicious slur on all black people in Canada, whose cause Ted defended to his last breath.

A New Upsurge in the Anti-War Movement

by The Editors

"The movement which dumped President Johnson has just served notice on President Nixon that the honeymoon is over." That's how NBC-TV began its news report on the massive April 5 and 6 anti-war demonstrations in the United States. The protests in several key cities, which saw large numbers of American soldiers walking in the front ranks, heralded a new upsurge of the powerful anti-war movement south of the border, which is certain to give a big impetus to the next wave of anti-war activity in Canada.

The Easter peace marches here marked the further political consolidation of the movement. There was an unprecedented clarity of themes: a clear program to end the war — Withdraw U.S. Troops Now!; a new focus on Canada's complicity, a theme picked up well by NDP speakers in particular; a clear understanding among most marchers of the sinister role any Canadian "peacekeeping" forces would play if sent, as offered by Sharp and Trudeau, to Vietnam.

By their enthusiastic reception of the message of greetings from the National Liberation Front, the demonstrators showed their common understanding that it was their actions combined with the armed struggle of the heroic Vietnamese freedom fighters that would decide the outcome of the war, and not the phony negotiations in Paris. The large number of signs protesting Canada's membership in NATO and NORAD indicated that many anti-war activists have generalized their opposition to imperialist aggression in Vietnam to include opposition to the whole system of imperialist war alliances.

The size and militancy of the demonstrations showed conclusively that the most effective way to express solidarity with the Vietnamese people and to educate Canadians as to the nature of imperialism is by building mass protest actions which focus against all the ways in which Canadian imperialism is an accomplice in the war aganst the Vietnamese revolution. The failure of the small "explicit anti-imperialist" demonstration in Vancouver on April 5, which ignored the question of Canada's complicity, is a negative confirmation of this.

The anti-Vietnam war movement has shown a great capacity to mobilize and radicalize new forces, particularly high school students, not previously involved in political activity. The powerful momentum of this movement has, in Toronto at least, drawn in the older, more conservative pacifist wing of the peace movement and its ideological bed-mates in the Communist party.

The next task is to step up our activity, fortified by the revival of the U.S. anti-war movement, and to direct our efforts to mobilizing the ranks of the trade unions and the New Democratic Party. The sizeable labor and NDP contingents in the Easter marches simply indicate the possibilities.

Workers' Vanguard #173 - May 5, 1969

B.C. IWA seeks to reopen contract

union front

The officers of the Regional Council of the B.C. International Woodworkers of America have requested officials of Forest Industrial Relations Limited, representing 126 companies, to reopen the two year master agreement signed last June.

This action followed up a series of meetings of IWA locals held throughout the province demanding the reopening of the contract for an interim pay boost.

Last year's IWA contract, like many other contracts, contained a provision that would allow its reopening by mutual agreement. But usually this clause is strictly tokenist, designed to put over long-term contracts on the ranks. This is the first time such a demand has ever been made on the coast and it is yet to be seen just how serious the IWA leadership is about it.

The union's case is certainly a powerful one. Without an escalator clause to protect wages from inflationary cuts due to the continued rise in the cost of living, the 18 cent an hour boost has been gravely eroded over the past year. On the other hand the treasuries of the lumber industry bosses have been bursting with unprecendented profits accrued from across-the-board price hoists.

Leadership quits

Striking plumbers have closed down construction work on a wide range of projects through British Columbia, and their strike, which is being supported by other unionists in the building trades, is continuing to expand.

The 2,900-member union was stifled by a five year contract which held them to a 40 hour work week while other building trades workers worked a 37½ hour week, and froze their wages and conditions far below those of electricians and others. Now the plumbers are demanding $2.50 an hour and a 35 hour week in a two year contract.

The membership rejected a "catch-up" offer from the 80-odd bosses organized in the Mechanical Industrial Relations Association of $1.42 an hour over one year. This proposal, recommended by the negotiating committee to a meeting of over 1200, was rejected after heated debate. Three of the union's negotiators and Local 170's President John Chemago subsequently resigned. A new strike committee is handling the negotiations.

A key issue in the negotiations, about which the boss press is remaining silent, is a company demand that the plumbers agree to handle non-union material. This would allow contractors to have a considerable amount of work done in non-union assembly shops.

Wildcat wins

HAMILTON — The 550 workers at American Can Co. here suddenly walked off the job April 18 to protest an increase in the work load on punch press feeders. The new job regulations had been imposed by the company over the objections of the union, local 354 of the Can Workers (CLC). The wildcat walkout came on top of a backlog of injustices and violations of the contract. Grievances have taken up to 17 months to process with the New York-based bosses.

Hoping to defeat the wildcat through intimidation tactics, the company proceeded to apply to prosecute individual strikers for engaging in an "illegal" strike. But this was no ordinary wildcat. After swallowing a one-day sympathy strike at their Simcoe plant, watching the local Teamsters' executive on the picket line turning trucks away, and seeing their "illegal" strikers distribute 25,000 leaflets in all the big plants saying "Legal Gimmicks Won't Produce Cans," the company backed down on the sixth day of the strike and agreed to withdraw the new work regulations as well as the suits against strikers.

The Can Workers, in this first strike in their local's history, showed that the united action of workers on the picket line can win victories that a hundred labor lawyers can never coax out of the bosses' courts and government boards.

Rotating strike

The success of the Canadian Union of Public Employees battle against Ontario Hydro has created some illusions as to the effectiveness of the strike technique utilized by Local 1000 — the so-called rotating strike. The Association of Radio and Television Employees was recently talking it up in its dispute with CBC.

This tactic failed to win any success for the Quebec Hydro workers who utilized it during their 1967 contract dispute. And the fact of the matter is that the Ontario Hydro bosses crumpled only when the rotating strike had taken on such breadth and such a continued character that it had in effect become a total strike of Local 1000's members against Ontario Hydro.

Francis K. Eady, executive secretary to CUPE's national president, is quoted in the union's *Journal* as saying that "the rotating strike enabled us to win a better contract than we would get if we had to go to arbitration, but not as good a one as we would

→ to page 2

May Day, 1969

get if we were free to strike en masse, like the unions in private industry."

Eady's suggestion that CUPE was not free to strike en masse was of course the main argument for the adoption of the rotating strike technique. The CUPE leadership quite correctly feared that the Tory Robarts government, taking advantage of the cross-Canada boss-inspired drive to impose compulsory arbitration on the unions, would make the Hydro workers, easily labelled as working in an essential service, a prime victim.

It was thought that the rotating strike, since it would not inconvenience the public but only harass the Hydro bosses, would not give the government any excuse to impose compulsory arbitration.

But do the union busters really need an excuse? It would appear that on this occasion they did not actually seek one out. The strike, even on a rotating basis, cut into the supply of available power, but Hydro officials merely opened the public purse and bought U.S. power to feed into the Ontario grid.

Perhaps the chief merit, in this case, of the rotating strike, was that it allowed the membership of Local 1000, which only recently crossed over the line from a company association to a union, to get its feet wet and then, in the course of experience, see the necessity for repeating and extending the duration of the strikettes until, in the face of developing waverings, they took on a total character.

There is no substitute in the case of so-called private or public industry for striking with the largest possible numbers on the broadest possible front with the greatest militancy, in order to win.

Win language rights

About 150 Falconbridge nickel miners staged an impromptu "sing-in" and refused to go underground when they learned that a mining boss had decided that only English would be spoken underground. The miners were in the change house preparing to enter the cage that takes them down thousands of feet, when word spread that from now on French would be forbidden underground in their shaft.

All the miners involved at that shaft refused to enter the cage. Instead, they broke into the refrain of "Alouette." Many a Maritime and Italian accent was heard to join in each chorus.

After many verses and choruses of Alouette the miners' committee was assured by the company that it was all a misunderstanding.

The Falconbridge union, the Mine Mill and Smelter Workers, recently won an arbitration regarding another effort by the company to discriminate because of language.

The company had refused a promotion of an Italian worker to a higher paying job because of his unfamiliarity with English. The job was a kind of "lead hand" with five or six other men. The company said the language problem would impede efficiency of the work. The union argued the man's seniority entitled him to the promotion and that he could get along OK using "miner's language." The union won the case.

—Paul Kent

#173

Demands public ownership of communication satellite

The New Democratic Party members in parliament have come out strongly in favor of public ownership of the government's proposed telecommunications satellite (Telesat Canada). The satellite, to be orbited over mid-Canada, is designed to improve television and telephone communications with the north; supplement present east-west microwave links; and, according to Communications Minister Eric Kierans, strengthen the ties between French and English Canada.

Calling the communications industry the "central nervous system of our society," Kierans underlines the importance of full public control and ownership in this field. But that's not the government's intention. It is granting major control over the project to large private corporations like RCA Victor, Trans-Canada Telephone System, CN-CP Telegraphs, and Bell Telephone. Details of the financing have not been revealed.

Ed Schreyer, NDP member for Selkirk, called the proposal a "sell-out of the Canadian public interest," and moved an amendment calling for complete public ownership through the federal and provincial governments. Max Saltsman (NDP, Waterloo) pointed to the basic incompatibility of utilities which serve the public interest being privately owned. "It is going to be very difficult to reconcile the national interest and the interest of private investors. You cannot mix the two," he said.

The NDP amendment was voted out, of course, with only the Créditistes joining in support of it.

Contradictory

Tom Berger, recently-elected B.C. NDP leader, is beginning to elaborate some of his ideas on what the NDP will do if and when elected. It's a rather mixed bag. In addition to demanding nationalization of B.C. Telephone, and increased taxes (why not public ownership?) on the resource industries, Berger calls for elimination of tuition fees at the post-secondary level and living allowances for students who have to leave home for college.

However, in an interview with the Vancouver *Sun* on April 22, Berger said he is not planning if elected to throw out the Bill 33 mediation law, which through a mediation board can subject B.C. trade unions to compulsory arbitration. He denounced compulsory arbitration and defended labor's right to strike, but proposes to retain the mediation board — as if the government has any right to interfere in labor disputes.

— **Anne Macdonald**

cross country with the NDP

E WORKERS
VANGUARD

#173 - May 5, 1969

Editor: ROSS DOWSON
Managing Editor: DICK FIDLER

Vive la Ligue Communiste !

Over the four-day Easter weekend, a congress of supporters of the French newspaper of revolutionary action, *Rouge*, founded a new organization, the *Ligue Communiste*. If the fall of de Gaulle shows the continuing crisis of the capitalist order in France unhinged last May, the formation of this new revolutionary organization reflects the rapid progress of the socialist forces that detonated the May uprising.

May 1968 confirmed the strength of the fundamental positions held by the former Jeunesse Communiste Révolutionnaire, whose members played a most prominent role in the uprising. At the same time, it showed the limitations of the old JCR, many of whose members are active in the grouping around *Rouge*.

The *Rouge* militants concluded that although student groups like the JCR played the role of detonator of the May events, they were unable to take on the role of a real vanguard — to offer an effective alternative to the treacherous leadership of the traditional French working class, organizations. The united-front Action Committees cannot play this role and in fact have disintegrated since May.

The *Rouge* grouping must sink roots in the working class, adopting practical forms of intervention to mobilize workers in action going beyond the reformist objectives of the trade union leaderships.

The congress showed that this was no empty wish. Thousands of workers have moved to the left of the French Communist party. *Rouge* has been able to regroup significant numbers of these workers. In some plants, *Rouge* militants are able to lead struggles against the bosses which are opposed by the CP union bureaucrats. *Rouge* militants supplement their paper with numerous local bulletins centered on struggles within specific factories. And at the March 11 general strike demonstration in Paris, more than 20,000 workers marched with the *Rouge* banners in opposition to the official trade-union leaderships.

Finally, and most significantly, the growth of the forces around the paper *Rouge* has not been limited to the students. Of some 1500 members of the new *Ligue Communiste*, almost one-third are workers.

The congress undertook to weld these militants and the influence of *Rouge* into a revolutionary party.

The three hundred delegates from every part of France were in agreement on the general orientation and areas of activity.

A minority, however, questioned whether the basic program of the *Ligue Communiste* should be determined when it was founded. Better, they felt, to allow a program to develop in the course of mass action, and through conferences with other vanguard groupings.

The majority felt that a revolutionary party could never be developed by simply lumping together tendencies differing in their basic approach to problems. They said it was first necessary to develop the means for action — a revolutionary organization armed with a program — to struggle for the regroupment of vanguard elements.

Such a program would not spring forth fully grown out of future experiences; it was the product of the whole history of the workers movement around the world, and was incorporated in the program of the Fourth International founded by Leon Trotsky in 1938.

The majority concluded that the building of a mass international movement was the urgent and permanent necessity for the class struggle in our time. Thus, they argued, the Ligue Communiste should apply for recognition as the French section of the Fourth International.

Positions of the majority were adopted by an overwhelming vote of 80 percent of the congress delegates. A central committee was elected, on which the minority tendencies are represented. Statutes for the Ligue were adopted organizing it along centralized lines, gearing it for unified and decisive intervention as class struggles break out in the continuing crisis of the French and international bourgeoisie.

Contact us

to know what socialists are doing in your area

MONTREAL. Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière, 226 est, rue Ste-Catherine, Montréal 129, Québec. 849-1727.
OTTAWA. League for Socialist Action, 238 Arlington, Ottawa 4, Ont. 224-3130.
TORONTO. League for Socialist Action, 1 Cumberland St., Toronto 5, Ont. 922-6665.
RICHMOND HILL. Workers Vanguard, Box 281, Richmond Hill, Ont.
HAMILTON. League for Socialist Action, Box 4323, Station D, Hamilton, Ont.
EDMONTON. League for Socialist Action, 10402-97 St., Edmonton, Alta. 424-7844.
VANCOUVER. League for Socialist Action, 1208 Granville St, Vancouver 2, B.C. 688-5924.

Correction

In the article on the McGill Français demonstration which appeared in our last issue (April 21), the paragraph beginning, "The march was organized by the militant CEGEP . . . sector of the student movement," should have read, "The march was *organized on the initiative of* the militant CEGEP. . ."

workers Vanguard #173 May 5, 1969

Editor: ROSS DOWSON
Managing Editor: DICK FIDLER

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Set by Union Labor.

NDP's Toronto slate a big step forward

by The Editors

The decision of the Toronto Area Council of the New Democratic Party to present a full slate of candidates for all posts on city council except Mayor is a big step forward for the NDP and labor movement right across Canada. It means that for the first time ever, there will be an independent labor alternative on all levels of government, including the municipal, in Toronto — a slate of candidates, and elected representatives, bound to a common program under caucus discipline. The Toronto NDP move raises the real possibility that voters next December will elect the first NDP administration in any major Canadian city.

The decision not to contest the mayoralty is regrettable as incumbent Mayor Dennison, while a member of the NDP, refuses to run on the party label or abide by the NDP program. Because the municipal election inevitably centers on the contest for the mayor's position, the NDP has from the start deprived itself of a valuable means of demonstrating its determination to take power in Toronto. However, the increased weight of aldermen in the civic administration resulting from abolition of board of control assures that an NDP majority here will hold effective power in the administration.

Dennison's refusal to stand on the party ticket and the party's accomodation to his demurral, reflect how deeply rooted the liberal-labor tradition of non-partisan politics still is. Many New Democrats have long recognized that the move to party politics on the municipal level was inevitable. But the party leadership has consistently hung back from taking the plunge, encouraged in its hesitation by the long-standing opposition of the labor council to a firmly committed labor-NDP slate at all levels. The Toronto Area Council decision definitely breaks with this indefensible tradition, in spite of qualms among the top labor bureaucrats.

Participation in the municipal elections will do much to strengthen the party organization, to build it as a serious force through intervention on the level of government that affects citizens most directly. Many of the Ontario NDP's most outstanding spokesmen such as deputy leader James Renwick and Morton Shulman rose to acclaim by leading popular actions which confronted the city government.

Moreover, a party slate in Toronto will force the NDP to develop a program on many key issues where up to now its voice has been somewhat muted or inadequate, to say the least — questions such as housing, municipal taxation, schools, public transit, urban planning, police, etc. A key task in the next period will be to formulate a program capable of exposing and combatting big business domination of the city. A good basis for such a program is the platform presented by candates of the League for Socialist Action when they pioneered the concept of a labor slate in previous civic elections.

Not least important, the Toronto NDP's decision is certain to spur similar action elsewhere across the country. A good showing by NDP candidates in Toronto next December should be regarded as the first step toward the election of NDP administrations in all the major cities of Canada.

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Vanguard expands to 8 pages

by The Editors

May Day 1969 — 50 years ago this month the working people of Winnipeg shut down all the important industry in that city. For six weeks not a wheel turned without the authorization of the strike committee. The Winnipeg General Strike was the biggest demonstration of labor's power in Canadian history.

What better way to mark the anniversary of that historic event than by launching the new eight-page *Workers Vanguard*? The expanded format will enable us to campaign far more effectively for the ideas and beliefs that inspired the workers of Winnipeg in 1919 — and for which we are still fighting today — a life of peace and plenty for all, a socialist society.

The expansion of the *Vanguard* marks a big step forward for the Canadian socialist movement. The growing radicalization necessitated it — but only our readers' contributions made it possible.

The expanded paper will help us arm the new forces coming to the socialist and labor movement with the program and analysis they need to carry the struggle forward. Perhaps the most important change in coming issues will be the new emphasis on basic educational articles — including, for example, an article in our next issue on the Winnipeg General Strike and its lessons for today.

Meanwhile, let us know what you think of the paper — and of anything else, for that matter. We welcome your comments and suggestions.

After de Gaulle, what?

Mass action by workers and students a year ago sparked crisis that has now toppled de Gaulle (inset).

French President Charles de Gaulle came to power in 1958 as the strong man whose "personal power" was to bring order out of the political chaos produced by France's war against the Algerian liberation fighters. Last week, he was forced out of office by the voters' rejection of his proposals to stem the deepening crisis unleased by the mighty May-June worker-student revolt in 1968. While the capitalist politicians and traditional social-democratic and Communist parties maneuver for the succession, the press speculates on the road ahead for France after de Gaulle. But for an account of what was in fact the most significant event on the French political scene last month, see page 6.

THE WORKERS
VANGUARD

#174
May 19, 1969

Mass rally set for May 31 to protest anti-labor laws

Everything is building up to make the projected May 31 mobilization on Queen's Park in Toronto a powerful demonstration of labor opposition to union restricting and union busting government legislation.

The proposed action comes out of the highly successful March 29 Hamilton mobilization initiated by the Building Trades Council as a protest against the anti-labor Rand Report. The fact that the official leadership of the labor council there failed to get behind that action gave the march of an estimated 5,000 unionists a strong character of protest against the do-nothing policies of the trade union bureaucracy not only with regards to anti-labor legislation but with regards to increasingly oppressive taxes, continually mounting living costs, the crying shortage of housing, etc., etc.

The wide open meeting held on May 7 in Hamilton to prepare the Queen's Park action was attended by some 50 leading activists from the building trades unions, Steel, the Teamsters, the United Electrical Workers, and others.

Terry Frazer reported that the St. Catharines Labor Council, the Teamsters Ontario Joint Council, the UE National Council, the Oshawa GM Local of the UAW and the Toronto Building Trades all endorse May 31. This undercut any possible gloom over the fact that the Hamilton Labor Council has opted out with the excuse that a Toronto action is outside its jurisdiction and that the Ontario Federation of Labor leadership has excused itself because of difficulties of meeting in time to consider it. The meeting greeted with great enthusiasm the report that $10,000 has been budgeted, 20,000 buttons have been prepared, and at least 150,000 leaflets will be circulated.

On May 14 a meeting will be held in the Toronto King Edward Hotel to build up the action in that area. The suggested themes of the rally are: opposition to the Rand Report, for the outlawing of injunctions, and for a bill of rights for labor. But it is obvious in the light of the most recent price hoists and the continued housing crisis that it will transcend these demands and even pose the question of independent labor political action through the NDP. It is proposed that all forces rally at the city hall square to move off onto Queen's Park, the site of the legislature, at 11 on Saturday, May 31.

workers
Vanguard

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Socialist contests French presidency

Alain Krivine

Alain Krivine, a leading figure in the revolutionary movement that sparked last year's May-June worker-student revolt in France, has entered the campaign for the French presidency.

Krivine is the candidate of the Ligue Communiste which was founded last month in a conference that brought together a sizeable grouping of militants who had played key roles in the revolutionary crisis last year. Krivine rose to prominence as a leader of the Jeunesse Communiste Révolutionnaire (Revolutionary Communist Youth), an organization banned by de Gaulle. His campaign will serve to publicize the revolutionary socialist alternative to broad masses of French workers.

Thirty French intellectuals, including Jean-Paul Sartre and Simone de Beauvoir, have signed an open letter supporting Krivine. His campaign, the statement says, is "an opportunity for the new forces born in May-June, 1968, to make themselves heard by this time using means provided for them by bourgeois legality."

#174

Parisian youth celebrating de Gaulle's defeat — down comes the tricolor, up goes the red flag.

The meaning of de Gaulle's defeat

"De Gaulle is down, the government is not down — this is the essence of the crisis," according to Pierre Frank, one of the main leaders of the French Trotskyist movement, the Ligue Communiste. Frank was interviewed by Dick Roberts, an American socialist journalist, the day after de Gaulle's defeat in the April 27 referendum, his subsequent resignation, and the wild street celebrations marking the fall of the general. The Ligue Communiste candidate, Alain Krivine, is presenting the revolutionary socialist alternative in the presidential campaign.

"The masses consider that they have won a victory," Frank said. "It appears as a victory of May-June (1968), of the general strike, so there will be all kinds of demands. At the beginning, it will appear as if elections can accomplish something, and it will strengthen parliamentarism for a short time.

"But after that, the same government remains, the same Assembly remains, the same constitution remains, the bosses continue their same policies. We are moving toward a big crisis everywhere."

De Gaulle's defeat "is a very big event, nationally as well as internationally," Frank said. It is a continuation of the crisis that opened a year ago with the massive three-week general strike of 10 million French workers.

"De Gaulle survived at that time, but the spell he had exerted for many years was broken; not only was there the distrust expressed by the working class in the general strike, but also big capital was shaken about the regime itself, and the problem of succession was in the air."

De Gaulle tried to recover his position by "his usual trick, the referendum, the plebiscite." He tried to overcome the widespread disinterest with the usual refrain: " 'either me, or you have chaos.' "

But "big capital was afraid of an explosion if de Gaulle continued in office. The man was to a certain extent erratic. They were afraid of what he might do with regard to the Middle East, Europe, the monetary question." Moreover, the big bourgeoisie saw in the lack of unity among the left parties — "they could vote 'no' but that is all they could do" — an opportunity "to get rid of de Gaulle without a blowup immediately.

"So, as a matter of fact, de Gaulle fell because of the big bourgeoisie, but in any case, it appears as a victory for the masses. They are not involved in these machinations."

The fall of de Gaulle and the ensuing election, Frank said, "throw the Communist party into difficulties. The CP had conducted a campaign against the 'personal rule' of de Gaulle. Now that de Gaulle has fallen, the masses will soon find out that it makes little difference, and the CP does not have any alternatives."

Against de Gaulle, the CP "played at being in the opposition and it didn't cost them much." Now they will probably have to present a candidate, which they don't want to do.

"They cannot make a left turn, because on the left there are 'very dangerous people' who can use any move in this direction to push the matter very much further than the CP wants. They are very much afraid — because demonstrations in the street are one thing, but if new strikes start, how can they control them?"

Will the removal of de Gaulle mean any big changes in France's relationship to NATO and the rest of Europe? "It is clear that Moscow is very unhappy about this situation," Pierre Frank said. "I surmise that people like Pompidou will try to get some agreement with the CP behind the scenes by promising them something.

"But the others, Giscard d'Estaing, (Acting President) Poher, etc., are pro-NATO, so the CP is very worried."

Frank, however, cautioned that it is necessary to remember that de Gaulle's "European" policy had objective roots. He simply gave a "special tinge to this policy." Whoever is the next president, "they cannot bring American troops back to France. 'U.S. Go Home!' is now established. You can't change it."

Workers' Vanguard #174 – May 19, 1969

New rise of world struggle hailed

Ross Dowson was the special guest speaker at the May Day banquet attended by some 90 Vancouver area friends of the League for Socialist Action and the Young Socialists. The colorfully decorated hall had been enlivened earlier by a contribution from J. P. Gladstone, a former editor of the Manitoba CCF *Commonwealth* and long time acquaintance of the leaders of the Winnipeg left who spoke on the Winnipeg General Strike, and another by one of the Simon Fraser student militants now before the courts, Carole Oleniuk, who spoke on the history of May Day.

Dowson spoke on May Day as a day of protest against the conditions that capitalism has imposed on mankind — the crushing totality of which makes life for the majority empty and futile—and truly meaningful and useful only in so far as we dedicate ourselves to the building of a new free socialist society.

He spoke on the profoundly world-wide nature of this struggle which over the last year, the year of the Tet offensive in Vietnam, the May-June uprising in France and the upsurge of the struggle for socialist democracy in Czechoslovakia, reached unprecedented heights.

The unity of these struggles finds organizational expression only in the Fourth International. The essential concept of unity of labor celebrated by May Day finds its highest expression in the world party of socialist revolution founded by the martyred Leon Trotsky.

While the Second International of Engels' day established May Day as the international workingman's day,it has long since passed from the scene, and social democracy on a world wide scale violates its most elementary tradition.

Stalin liquidated the Third International forged by Lenin and Trotsky. And this May Day we see the ultimate in symbolic betrayal in the French Communist party's cancelling of the traditional May Day demonstration in Paris.

He described the assembly of the delegates attending the FI's 3rd congress since Reunification, held in Vienna over the Easter holidays, as embodying the most vital forces of the world wide struggle for socialism. He referred particularly to the latest affiliate, the delegates from the 1,500 strong Communist League of France, leading participants in the events which led to the greatest general strike in history which at one blow reaffirmed that the working class has in no way lost its capacity to struggle but on the contrary is searching for the socialist way.

photo by Frank Hoffman

John Steele, Vancouver organizer of the LSA, addresses banquet. Seated at right is Ross Dowson.

He noted that amongst the delegates to the congress were internationally recognized figures representing forces whose participation in the struggle of solidarity with the Vietnamese freedom fighters has given the movement a qualitatively greater scope.

Even Trudeau has been compelled to recognize that across Canada there is "a revolution of rising anticipation." Dowson referred to the 50,000 strong French Canadian student struggle of last year, the Red Power movement, and the ferment in the unions as highlighted by the March mobilization of Hamilton labor. It is pressing in on the conservative NDP leadership who are talking of confrontation politics.

It is appropriate, he said, that on this May Day, celebrations should pivot around the Great Winnipeg General Strike out of which was consolidated the first important accumulation of revolutionary socialist forces, and which revealed the path to workers power in this country.

Dowson suggested that we stand on the threshold of another such great breakthrough which we can anticipate will not be isolated.

workers
Vanguard #174 - May 19, 1969

Editor: ROSS DOWSON
Managing Editor: DICK FIDLER

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Set by Union Labor.

'Hate' literature bill a threat to civil liberties

by The Editors

A dangerous piece of legislation, sponsored by the government, is slowly making its way through parliament. Bill S-21, purportedly designed to ban "hate" literature, is now before the Senate where it has received agreement in principle. It may come before the House of Commons for adoption later this spring. It should be actively opposed by everyone concerned with preserving and extending those precious democratic freedoms we call civil liberties.

Bill S-21 was first submitted to parliament in 1966 in response to demands that anti-Semitic pamphlets and speeches from a tiny group of neo-Nazis in Toronto be suppressed by law. The bill makes it an offense to advocate or promote genocide or to incite "hatred or contempt" against any group identifiable by color, race or ethnic origin. Penalties for violation are prison terms of up to five years. The proposed legislation places the onus on the accused to disprove charges brought against him.

The bill has justly drawn heavy criticism from many civil rights defenders and on many grounds. First, it gravely threatens the free speech of everyone, and not just the lunatic right wing fringe. In Britain, similar legislation, ostensibly directed against the neo-fascists, was actually used first to prosecute militant black leaders who were simply exposing white racism. It is not at all inconceivable that the Canadian bill could be used to frame supporters of the Arab revolution as "anti-Jews" when in fact they are anti-Zionist; against French Canadian nationalists for "inciting hatred or contempt" of English-speaking Canadians; against Indians or Eskimos for protesting against the injustices of white capitalist civilization; against revolutionary socialists for attacking class rule.

Secondly, by prohibiting incitements which are "likely to lead to a breach of the peace," the bill makes it possible to punish anyone who exposes an injustice if his exposure provokes — or even *might* provoke — a counter-attack. In the words of the Canadian Civil Liberties Association brief to the Senate, "If . . . a Canadian Indian was denouncing the sins of the white man in a place where there was substantial anti-Indian prejudice and it was likely that he would be attacked for what he said, he, the Indian, might be guilty of an offense. Surely, this is a risk we do not wish to take. History has taught us that so often tomorrow's social reform grows out of today's verbal attack."

The *Vanguard* of course stands in the front ranks of opponents of the peddlers of "hate" literature directed against Jews or any racial or ethnic grouping. But the sad fact is that in this capitalist society, ruled by a powerful, privileged minority — the corporate élite — legal restrictions on free speech are used most often, if not always, against the left, in order to harass and suppress the voices of progress, of revolt.

The only way to end hate literature is to destroy the conditions of poverty and oppression which feed the hate groups. Whether it is oppressing Vietnamese or blacks and Indians, capitalism is the real source of white chauvinist prejudice.

Hate propaganda is not confined to ultra-right fringe groups. Only recently, for example, it was revealed that the Toronto police train recruits with a right-wing film, Revolution Underway, which "explains" the black peoples' revolt in the United States as the work of "Communist subversives." This kind of hate propaganda, directed with official sanction to the very elements who are supposed to enforce the hate literature bill, is far more dangerous than the lunatic ravings of some jack-booted adolescent admirer of Hitler. But you can be sure that Trudeau's proposed bill would not be used to prosecute the Toronto police department!

Bill S-21 does not begin to attack the root causes of "hate" literature or fascistic groups. History has shown conclusively that such groups, composed initially of the very dregs of capitalist society, have risen to prominence and power only when they were actively encouraged and supported by much more powerful interests — interests centered in big business itself, frantic in the defense of threatened privileges. It was only thanks to the tolerance of German industrialists and high finance, and later their support, that Hitler came to power.

The bosses have no fundamental interest in protecting the rights of working class and socialist organizations — in fact, they harass and circumscribe dissent at every turn, even in conditions of relative "social peace." The only genuine defense of our hard-won civil liberties lies in the deliberate action of the labor movement, and not in reliance on the laws and police of the capitalist state.

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THE WORKERS
VANGUARD

174 - May 19, 1969

Teachers seek control of jobs

Quebec's public school teachers are not only adopting tactics which until now have been used only by the most militant sectors of organized labor, but they have given them a dramatic new twist. Furthermore they are raising a demand that has been in the air but until now has nowhere else in this country been so clearly expressed — they want to have control over — — authority over — — what they call "the tools of our profession."

On May 14 a considerable number of the 70,000 members of the Quebec teachers organizations, both English and French, Protestant and Catholic, are converging on the capital city, Quebec. They are demanding a settlement of a 23 month dispute with the Quebec government and school boards. An important core of the mobilization has already started walking to Quebec in 20 mile relays from Montreal, Sherbrooke, St-Jean, Rivière du Loup and Murray Bay areas. They will be joined by teachers from right across Quebec who will strike their schools that day and join the marching teachers at the capital.

The teachers have accepted the wage scale in a contract offer but there remain two outstanding issues — the work load on teachers, primarily the number of pupils each teacher would be required to teach, and the question of who will determine the choice of books, methods and visual aids used in the local schools. According to chief union negotiator Joseph Leblanc this latter demand, which he calls co-management, is the most important issue.

The government has proposed that school boards would consult teachers on these matters. But the teachers say that they must have equal authority with the school boards in deciding on such matters.

Air Canada strike

"This makes Prime Minister Pierre Elliott Trudeau the master strikebreaker of Canada," said George Waite, president of Local 2323 International Association of Machinists, as the strike that has tied up Air Canada's world wide operations went into its fourth week.

The IAM leader was scoring the government's allocation of Canadian Air Force personnel and equipment at North Bay to provide ground power to Quebecair — one of the many small airlines taking up some of the runs normally serviced by Air Canada. This "is strikebreaking at its worst," charged Waite.

And this isn't the first time that the 6,300

union front

machinists have had to single out the prime minister for special reprimand. As the deadline for settlement on the union's demand for a 20 percent increase on a one year contract approached, the union leadership scored Trudeau as having "made a strike inevitable."

Trudeau had taken advantage of his position in the House of Commons to firm up the negotiators representing the government-owned colossus. He said that his government believed that Air Canada had made "a very generous offer" but that the union was "demanding wage increases which are completely beyond the capacity of the company to pay." Union claims that Air Canada exceeds all major U.S. carriers in productivity and that it made $8 million in profits have gone unchallenged.

Air Canada's 23 percent offer spread over three years, Trudeau said, was more generous than it would have been had the company been asked to follow government wage demands. While the 6,350 strikers are not even asking for wages equal to those being paid by U.S. workers (they estimate that the granting of their original demands, even prior to the new big gains won by U.S. workers, would have left them 8 percent behind the rates paid by major U.S. airlines), Trudeau took advantage of the situation to reaffirm that wage parity "has never been and is not the policy of the government."

Trudeau even attacked the concept of wage parity in principle with the fatuous argument that workers who win parity don't win it from their respective bosses but actually transfer wealth from poorer workers to themselves. As if there were some kind of national wages pool which the working class draws from and over which beneficent employers carefully watch so that the distribution is equitable.

Though the union has scaled down its demands to 24 percent over a two-year contract there has been no serious offer from Air Canada which has tied up air travel across Canada and across the seas and dropped over 23 million dollars worth of business. "By placing himself squarely on the side of management Trudeau has succeeded only in stiffening our members' resolve and lifting their morale," says Mike Rygus, the union's Canadian vice-president.

Demand rejected

As to be expected the West Coast lumber bosses, combined in Forest Industrial Relations Limited, rejected out of hand the International Woodworkers demand that they grant another wage increase under a clause in their two year contract that provides for its re-opening.

Mass meetings of woodworkers throughout B.C. are demanding the increase in the face of continuing rises in the cost of living and company hoists in the prices of lumber products which are resulting in fantastic profits for the bosses.

Just as FIR made their case for wages stability and argued that woodworkers wages have kept abreast of the cost of living index, Ottawa disclosed that in April the index rose 1.1 percent — the biggest single jump since June 1956.

FIR's answer is now being discussed in union local meetings. Regional vice-president Jack Mackenzie warns that dissatisfaction on the job is so high that "neither side may be able to control it."

— Paul Kent

YOU'RE KIDDING — "Some say there is no God . . . I do not find any support for that philosophy in the scriptures." — John Diefenbaker, April 18, 1969.

Labor ranks begin

by The Editors

A rising number in the ranks of the almost two million strong organized labor movement are beginning to move.

They are not being mobilized by the well-heeled, official leadership, grown fat and dull from its now longstanding comfortable relations with company and government spokesmen. They are being goaded into motion by an increasing accumulation of discontents.

The Ontario Federation of Labor brass are arguing that the union-busting Rand Report itself, commissioned by the Ontario Tory government, is actually a "transitory element," a "temporary aberration." But it is coming through louder and clearer that it is not a matter of the fate of this or that commission report — the unions have become hog-tied by an entire network of restrictive regulations and paralyzed by the class conciliationist and class collaborationist attitudes of the old leadership.

Action is needed.

Action against compulsory arbitration, against conciliation procedural traps, against injunctions, against all government interventions and arbitrary rulings such as the latest by Judge Little that bars civil servants from joining a union of their own choice.

Action that would put the organized labor movement once again in the vanguard of the defense and extension of the rights of its own membership and the working people of the entire country.

Action against the excessive and highly discriminatory taxation system.

Action in support of the rights of the French Canadian nation and in aid of the Indian and Eskimo peoples, against discrimination of all types for reason of sex, race or color.

Action against the continuous and ruthless price gouging by the monopolists, for the defense of our already hard-won gains through an escalator clause which would insure automatic wage increases with each rise in the cost of living.

Action on the housing crisis — for a vast program of subsidized low-priced, low-rental public housing.

workers Vanguard

Vol. 13, No. 19 (175) June 2, 1969

Action against pollution, against the cynical destruction of the natural resources of the country by capitalism's ruthless search for profit.

The May 31st demonstration through Toronto's streets onto Queens Park, following on the heels of the great Hamilton mobilization, can be a vital stage in the remobilization of the mighty forces of the Canadian working class. This remobilization can result in the NDP coming to power in the provinces and in Ottawa on the forward march to a socialist Canada — a Canada owned by the working people and democratically operated by them not for the profit of a few but for the benefit of themselves and all mankind.

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Set by Union Labor.

PM keeps wraps on Canada's secret police

by The Editors

Prime Minister Trudeau may think "the state has no business in the bedrooms of the nation," as he said when proposing modest reforms in the marriage laws. But his admitted unwillingness to make public, even in expurgated form, the report of the Royal Commission on Security, reveals that as far as he and the Liberal Cabinet are concerned, the state has every right to pry into other aspects of our personal lives and opinions.

The Royal Commission was appointed in 1966 in the aftermath of the Munsinger and Spencer scandals, to investigate the work and powers of Canada's secret police force — the Security and Intelligence (S&I) division of the RCMP. Among its members was M. J. Coldwell, former CCF leader.

The Commission met in secret — its hearings were closed to the public. And if Trudeau has his way, we will never know its findings. This means we'll never know S & I's budget, how many secret service-men it has (one source estimates "500 to 1,000 or more"), their activities or methods, how many names they have in secret files, or how or why those reports are gathered and what they're used for.

Of course, anyone who ever walked an anti-war picket line, for example, knows how RCMP agents photograph and otherwise harass peaceful citizens conducting lawful activities. The Toronto *Star* editors ask: "Do we want it to plant men in labor unions, take down license plate numbers outside meeting halls, infiltrate student organizations, investigate people who write letters to the editor, grill academics who have been asked to lead government task forces, compile dossiers on political candidates, trade information on political 'undesirables' with the FBI, tip off American authorities about fleeing draft dodgers and deserters, and all the other things it has done and is still doing?"

The answer is obvious. But it's not enough to demand, as the *Star* and other dailies demand, that the security report be published, important as that is. The NDP and the entire labor movement must campaign to abolish these secret "security" police — whose continued operations threaten the security of every Canadian citizen. It's so widespread that no place — in fact, not even our bedrooms — are immune from their snooping.

→ to page 2

why quote Star in the way we do when the Star?

Editorials, page 2

Behind our price increase

With this issue, the *Vanguard* increases its annual subscription price to $3.00 from $2.00 We have always maintained the lowest possible subscription price. But like everyone else, we have been hit by rising costs on every aspect of the paper's production — and we must adjust accordingly.

The increase, the first in several years, brings the subscription price more into line with the single copy price, which we increased to 15 cents when the *Vanguard* became an 8-pager. (Subscribers save 75 cents on a year's single-copy price.) The new price is still below our production costs, and the deficit must be made up by our annual financial appeal to readers. But to look on the bright side, readers might recall that the 50 percent price increase comes with a 75 percent increase in copy content, with the expansion from four to eight pages per issue. Where else under capitalism can you find a bargain like that?

The new subscription price is still based on the assumption that we will get reduced rate second class mailing rights. The post office has not yet ruled on our appeal against its decision to deprive us of those rights.

Readers who are fed up with the deteriorating postal delivery service are urged to take out air mail (first class) subscriptions at $4.25 a year.

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Militancy, unity at labor march

union front

Over 10,000 unionists marching fifteen abreast up University Avenue from Toronto's city hall square onto the parliament buildings was an inspiring sight of labor militancy and solidarity. The success of Toronto's May 31 anti-labor law, Anti Rand Report demonstration, follow-up to the highly successful March 29 Hamilton demonstration, not only reflects the changing mood in labor's ranks; it projects entirely new possibilities — possibilities of overcoming old divisions within the union movement, of overcoming the union routinism, the business unionism fostered by the old leadership, and of widening the horizon of the organized labor movement that can lead to real breakthroughs in the future.

A buoyant, aggressive fighting mood permeated the demonstration. It was clearly an action of the rank and file militants from the Toronto area joined by important forces all the way from the Soo down to Windsor, from Ottawa and intermediate points. The solid base of the demonstration was the Toronto building trades workers, locked out for six weeks now, and the big contingents from both the United Electrical Workers (independent) and the Teamsters (independent). The tokenist character of the union brass's support (the Toronto area labor council officially endorsed the action and its president appeared on the platform) was obvious from the relatively weak representation from Steel and Auto.

It lacked the spontaneous character of the Hamilton demonstration with its rash of hand-written placards protesting tax gouging, exorbitant prices, the housing crisis. The Toronto demonstration with all its printed placards hewed the anti-Rand Report line firmly. Nonetheless, the statements by the League for Socialist Action, which did make all the necessary generalizations and advance a specific program of action, was enthusiastically received.

The mood was free and open, despite earlier attempts at exclusionism. The New Democratic Youth appeared in the demo distributing copies of *Confrontations*. The Communist Party freely distributed its material. Attempts by a marshall, with police aid, to cut out a Maoist group were quickly rebuffed by rank and file militants. A student contingent joined in, behind its banner call for Jobs For All. The Young Socialists and the League for Socialist Action carried banners, the latter emblazoned Hands Off Labor, NDP to Power, League for Socialist Action.

No program, slate defeated

The leaders behind Hamilton's highly successful Anti-Rand demonstration were badly defeated in the labor council elections. Their executive slate of six went down to defeat, except for one. Chief organizer of the demo, Terry Fraser, business agent of IBEW Local 105, not only lost in his bid for the vice presidency by a vote of 38 to 72, but failed to be re-elected as a member-at-large of the 9 man executive council.

Although union ranks took their lead to join in the mobilization, despite the open opposition of the council brass, this was not reffected in the council, composed of delegates elected from the floor of union locals.

photo by Mintz

LABOR PROTEST. Over 10,000 unionists marched in May 31 demonstration against union-busting anti-labor legislation.

affiliated to the council.

The leaflet publicizing the slate was completely devoid of program.

Rail union merger would end rivalry

The emergency convention of the Canadian Brotherhood of Railway Transport and General Workers being held over June 12-13 in Montreal is certain to be a stormy one. The only item on the agenda before the 352 rank and file delegates and the 24 voting members of the national executive board and the board of trustees will be a resolution on merger with the Brotherhood of Railway, Airline and Steamship Clerks (BRAC).

The resolution calls upon the convention to direct the board to enter into talks with BRAC, and sets out 13 conditions upon which the merger has to be based. If the convention votes merger, and the board is satisfied with the discussed terms the question will be submitted to another convention, as well as to a ratification vote of the entire membership.

If the merger goes through it will end some 50 years of bitter rivalry and raiding between the 35,000 member CBRT and the 20,000 member BRAC. The CBRT, a national union, represents non-operating employees of the CN. BRAC represents the same categories employed by the CPR. The 13 points are largely related to safeguarding the autonomy of the merged union which will be part of a Cincinnati-based 260,000 member international union.

A serious discussion of this important proposition has not been helped by the bureaucratic decision of the CBRT leadership to cut off all discussion on the matter in the union's paper as of the April 15 issue, or by CBRT President Smith's arrogant appeal in the April 1 issue to all locals to send uncommitted delegates to the emergency convention. Nor has it been helped by ignorant talk about Smith's personal motives and appeals to national chauvinism.

— Paul Kent

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Set by Union Labor.

That NATO troop cut-

What it really means

by The Editors

Was the Trudeau government's decision to reduce Canada's armed forces contingent in Europe a bold initiative in foreign policy, some radical departure from this country's longstanding complicity with U.S. State Department policy? You might think so, to judge from the publicity given in the daily press to some criticisms of the government's move by top British and U.S. Defense spokesmen. One cartoonist even went so far as to depict U.S. Defense Secretary Laird forcing Canadian Defense Minister Cadieux into a electric chair under the unforgiving eyes of other NATO government representatives.

The image of brave little Canada standing up to the mighty imperialist United States is an attractive one for many of us, who think it's high time Canada stopped piping the U.S. tune in international affairs. But it hardly squares with the facts.

The government's decision to cut its NATO contingent was not a political one, motivated by lofty desires to decrease cold war tensions by breaking free of U.S. war alliances, but in fact little more than a hard, cold cost accounting procedure. The Toronto *Star's* Ottawa editor, Anthony Westell, revealed on May 23 that just "to maintain present military forces and commitments," government armed forces spending "would have to jump by almost $700 million a year to $2,500,000,000."

"While the public debate on defense and foreign policies has centered mainly on political and strategic issues," Westell says, "the hard fact" confronting the cabinet "has been a red ink dollar sign." He says "this is the key fact in the current cabinet review of defense policy" and "the basic reason" why the government wants to cut its forces.

And Defense Minister Cadieux confirmed this on June 2 when he stated that the present military budget can be limited to $1.8 billion only by reducing armed forces strength by 30,000 men over the next three years. It is simple budget-paring, not peace initiatives, that lie behind the government's NATO decision. Its essential approach to foreign policy remains the same.

Why the opposition from the U.S. and Britain, then? (After all, it's hard to believe that in mere military terms, Canada's 10,000 troops from Europe couldn't be easily replaced by the 12 European NATO members who have nearly 3,000,000 men under arms.)

Quite simply, the U.S. is trying to forestall similar action by Canada's other NATO allies who are coming under growing domestic pressure to pull out of this discredited cold war alliance.

The hue and cry over Canada's announced troop reduction serves to obscure a much more significant point: the Liberal government's reluctance to spell out a timetable for withdrawal. The Toronto *Star* of May 22 provides an ominous explanation: "Sources (in Ottawa) say it is also desirable to hold the European brigade together for a time in case it might be needed for a vast peacekeeping operation in Vietnam."

Clearly, Trudeau's decision to "withdraw" from Europe contains a lot less than meets the eye.

NDP TO POWER! MANITOBA SAYS

workers Vanguard

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BULLETIN. June 26—The people of Manitoba said it loud and clear yesterday — they want an NDP government. The NDP victory is an historic achievement for the Canadian working people, a big step to the election of NDP governments right across the country, up to and including Ottawa.

The New Democratic vote almost doubled to 40 percent, biting deeply into former Tory (35 percent) and Liberal (23 percent) territory. Taking 28 of the 57 seats in the legislature — up from 12 in the last house — the NDP is assured of forming the next government, barring a Tory-Liberal-Socred coalition.

Among the defeated Conservatives were five cabinet ministers, while the Liberals were reduced to a corporal's guard of five members, failing even to elect their leader.

WINNIPEG, June 22 — June 25, the date of the Manitoba provincial election, has a double significance in history. It was exactly 50 years ago that the Winnipeg General Strike, the biggest labor upsurge yet, came to an end. And it is exactly a year since the election victory of the federal Liberals under Pierre Trudeau. But this year, on June 25, the working people of Manitoba have the real possibility of electing to power the province's first New Democratic Party government.

The upsurge of support for the NDP is the main feature of this election campaign. Most observers, regardless of political affiliation, expect the NDP to become at least the official opposition in the next legislature, if not the government.

The NDP's growth was highlighted by the announcement on June 3 that a key group of former young Liberal and Tory supporters have switched to the NDP. The group includes former executive officers of the University of Manitoba Liberal Club, the former youth director for the Liberal party, the former president of the high school Liberals, and former executives of the U of M Conservative Club.

From the beginning of May until the convention June 7 the NDP gained 3,000 new members. The convention, called in the middle of the campaign to elect a new leader, was the biggest ever, with over 600 delegates and as many visitors. Ed Schreyer, 33, the federal MP for Selkirk, was elected leader over Winnipeg labor lawyer, Sid Green. Both men campaigned on substantially the same platform — a watered-down liberal reformism. Delegates tended to play down the question of program in their e[illegible]er

(See pa[illegible] 7)

Ed Schreyer
Manitoba NDP Leader

→ to page 2

Manitoba NDP victory

(continued from page 1)

conviction that big electoral gains were just around the corner. Certainly the biggest thing going for the NDP right now is the general disillusion with both the Liberals and the Tory government of Premier Walter Weir.

The NDP campaign is stressing basic social issues. Its urban program includes demands for a public housing corporation, and elimination of transit fares. Schreyer calls for an immediate slash in medicare premiums by one-half, and their eventual elimination altogether. The NDP promises to respect the concept of self-determination for Indian people, by recognizing that major decisions concerning the Indians must be made by Indians; that Indian and Métis representatives should sit on curriculum-setting sessions of the department of education; and that the government commission in charge of Indian affairs should be composed of Indians only. In most other respects, however, the NDP program differs little from those of the Liberals and Tories, which makes the party very vulnerable to any gimmicks and last-minute ploys the old-line parties might pull off.

Although the local newspapers have given much publicity to a couple of instances of unions declining to contribute to the NDP campaign fund, the Manitoba Federation of Labor convention of May 30-June 1 declared its firm support for the NDP. The MFL statement pointed to the danger of Tory government anti-labor legislation, represented by the recent White Paper on collective bargaining. Representatives of the province's 11,000 teachers — first victims of the government's attempt to impose time limits on the bargaining process — gave Schreyer an enthusiastic reception when he addressed them recently.

#177

Rail union merger stalled - blow to labor unity

By the decisive vote of 305 to 61 the delegates at the special convention of the Canadian Brotherhood of Railway Transport and General Workers (CBRT), held in Montreal over June 12-13, rejected a proposed unity with the Brotherhood of Railway, Airline and Steamship Clerks (BRAC).

The proposal was advanced by the leaddership of the CBRT, a 30,000-member national union affiliated to the Canadian Labor Congress, in the form of an amendment to the constitution that would authorize further discussions with BRAC, the final terms coming up for approval or rejection before a convention slated for the Fall. BRAC represents some 20,000 workers employed by the Canadian Pacific Railways in the same general categories as the Canadian National workers organized by the CBRT. But BRAC members, besides being affiliated to the CLC, are part of another 160,000-member body affiliated to the AFL-CIO with a central office in Cincinnati.

While the CBRT has not been without sharp internal frictions — last year's settlement was accepted by the membership only under the club of the Smith leadership's policy of a common settlement with the other rail unions — the issue of unity with BRAC broke through all previous right or left alignments in the union.

Many delegates arrived at the convention displaying buttons reading "Canada First," and waving Canadian flags. At one point the assembly was pressured into rising to its feet by the singing of O Canada. This demonstration of Canadian national chauvinism, along with dire warnings about the loss of Canadian autonomy, was largely irrelevant because the BRAC leadership had already agreed to autonomy for the Canadian section of the merged organization on all matters relating to Canadian affairs.

But this all-inclusive opposition to the merger had a deep longstanding distrust of the leadership going for it (Smith had arrograntly blocked any further discussion of the merger in the union's paper two months before the convention). The air was rife with gossip that Smith, due to retire according to the CBRT constitution, favored merger with BRAC in order to remain on the payroll — and all of Smith's assurances that he was retiring this coming Fall, merger or no merger, were to no avail.

The opposition also benefited from the legitimate mounting cross-country opposition to the increasing domination of U.S. Big Business over the Canadian economy, which they worked up in a shameless way. A prominent Toronto opponent of merger, James Hunter, demagogically described the unity of one group of Canadian workers with another group of Canadian workers who happen to be affiliated with an international union (as are a decisive majority of all other Canadian unions) in the same terms as a U.S. corporation's absorption of a Canadian corporation — as a "takeover."

Don Secord, one of the few of the leaders who got a hearing, challenged the delegates to face the fact that the number of CBRT railway members had dropped from the peak of 32,018 in 1953, to 21,182 today. He questioned that the CBRT would be able to survive — if it was still in existence in 10 years it would be "a nonentity."

While the 1967 convention adopted a recommendation for unity of all Canadian rail unions into one national industrial union — and some of the opponents of merger with BRAC still talk in these terms — this vote struck a body blow against this possibility. Of the 125,000 organized railway workers in Canada, some 95,000 are members of international unions — only 8,700 belong to the three unions independent of any U.S. or Canadian affiliation.

The only perspective that the opposition holds out for unity of the railway workers is a restructuring through massive splits or a succession of raids. But in reality the leaders of this opposition to merger with BRAC have only succeeded in delaying the process, at the same time polluting the atmosphere so as to make it much more difficult to realize.

Workers' Vanguard #177 - June 30, 1969

Appeals red-baiting clause

A year ago some members of the Oakville, Ont. local of the United Auto Workers invoked a clause in the constitution of the international to purge Jim Bridgewood as chairman of the Human Rights committee of the local and as a delegate to the Oakville and District Labor Council. They thereby set off a series of actions.

The clause, Article 10, Section 8, prohibits anyone alleged to be "a member of or subservient to any political organization such as the Communist, Fascist or Nazi organization which owes its allegiance to any government other than the United States or Canada, directly or indirectly" from holding any elective or appointive position in the international union or any local union.

This red-baiting clause is similar to many which are written into most of the constitutions of unions in both the U.S. and Canada. Nearly all the international unions have them. The largest all-Canadian union, the 116,000-member Canadian Union of Public Employees, bars Communists from even joining the union. In 1958 the British Columbia Supreme Court ruled that the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers could expel communists. It refused to order the IBEW to reinstate ousted business manager George Gee.

Since Bridgewood had run as a CP candidate in last year's federal election, the witch hunters thought they had an open and shut case. But they hadn't taken into account that the climate has radically changed since 1941 when the discriminatory clause was imposed on the union.

Last week Bridgewood's appeal came before the UAW's Public Review Board. His earlier appeal to the Executive Board headed by that great posturing crusader Walter Reuther, after a delay of eight months, was rejected. The Review Board hasn't made its decision but the Canadian Region of the UAW representing 127,000 Canadian workers, meeting June 14 weekend at Port Elgin, unanimously passed a resolution submitted by Windsor Local 444 asking the International Executive Board to exempt Canada from the anti-communist clauses in its constitution.

In his appeal Bridgewood cited the changes in the constitution of the Canadian Labor Congress made at the last convention which removed reference to communism from its exclusion section. The Metropolitan Toronto Labor Council and the Vancouver and district Labor Council subsequently amended their constitutions in line with that of the CLC.

But the witch hunters and red baiters are not giving up easy. Many of them are trying to hold on to such clauses with the excuse that they are largely inoperative. Leading this crew of bureaucrats is CLC president Donald MacDonald. On the eve of the UAW Review Board hearings, he sent a letter to Bridgewood to the effect that the CLC officers stand by a completely discriminatory interpretation of Article 3, Section 5 of the CLC constitution.

But the Bridgewood case has shaken up the whole situation. A campaign to solidly back his appeal through the UAW and CLC affiliates can succeed in routing out these rotten discriminatory clauses in unions in both Canada and the United States.

— Paul Kent

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workers Vanguard

#177 - June 30, 1969

Oppose rehabilitation of Stalin

Soviet dissidents speak out

Oppositional Soviet communists, intensifying their activities in response to stepped-up repressions by the Kremlin bureaucracy, appealed in a statement dated June 1, 1969, to the conference of pro-Moscow Communist parties which met in the Kremlin June 5-17.

The full text of this appeal, signed by ten of those who have been active in the Soviet civil rights movement (several of them are members of the Soviet Communist party, has become available in Russian. The major part of the document is published below, following the translation by *Intercontinental Press*.

Among the signers is the wife of former Major General Pyotr Grigorenko. He himself was unable to sign, as he has been imprisoned since May 7 in Tashkent, where he was attempting to act as nonprofessional defense counsel for ten Crimean Tartar spokesmen facing trial in that city.

The wife of Ilya Gabai, another prominent dissident, signed the appeal in his name; he, too, is in prison in Tashkent. Another signer was Irina Kosterina, presumably the widow of the late Aleksei Kosterin, a writer and a Bolshevik since 1916. All three men, Grigorenko, Gabai, and Kosterin, had signed a similar appeal in February 1968 addressed to the conference of Communist parties in Budapest.

Maj. Gen. Grigorenko

Most of the other signers had also participated in the May 20 appeal to the United Nations Human Rights Commission. Most prominent, besides the three already mentioned, is Pyotr Yakir, son of a Red Army general executed by Stalin in 1937.

On June 6 five young Crimean Tartars and Irina Yakir, twenty-year-old daughter of Pyotr Yakir, demonstrated in downtown Moscow, near Red Square with placards calling for the right of the Tartars to return to their homeland, from which they were exiled en masse by Stalin in 1944. The demonstration was timed to coincide with the arrival of foreign delegates to the conference being held nearby.

According to one report, a placard calling for the release of General Grigorenko was raised, and a crowd of several hundred curious onlookers soon gathered. Another report stated that some in the crowd "mauled" the demonstrators. It is certain that the six were arrested, and according to "unofficial sources" mentioned in a June 8 Reuters dispatch, they were released the next day after extensive questioning. The five Tartars were said to have been shipped back to their home town.

* * * *

We are appealing to the international conference of Communist and workers parties in regard to the revival of Stalinist methods in our country.

The Twentieth and Twenty-Second congresses exposed and condemned Stalin and his serious crimes against the party and the people. Stalin's one-man dictatorship; the arbitrary practices of the security forces, which kept society in an atmosphere of fear and terror for decades; the concentration camps, in which millions of innocent people perished; the criminal nationalities' policy, under which entire nations were repressed; the impasse into which the national economy fell; the stagnation of culture and science; the low level at which wages and the production of consumer goods were kept; the catastrophic housing crisis; and the many other deformations of Stalin's dictatorship — all these were condemned.

The party solemnly promised the Soviet people that the personality cult and its consequences would never be repeated in the life of our country. It was said that the Leninist norms of democracy would be restored.

Soviet society believed these announcements, and in fact a good deal was done toward revitalizing the life of our people.

A certain amount of anxiety was aroused by the slow and partial character of de-Stalinization. Togliatti wrote of this in his political testament.

Still greater anxiety was felt when, after the removal of Khrushchev, the democratization process began gradually and bit by bit to give way to the restoration of Stalinist methods.

At that time a movement for civil rights arose in the Soviet Union. In this connection it is necessary to speak of illegal arrests and unjust sentences, the lack of publicity and the bias of the courts, numerous violations of procedural norms, searches of homes and shadowing of people; eavesdropping on phone conversations and opening of mail. Thus, free citizens of the USSR, who have been convicted of nothing, can be placed in the position of outcasts if they don't please the KGB (the secret-police organization) — mail is not delivered to them; they cannot use the telephones freely; all who have dealings with them immediately come under KGB surveillance.

Citizens who dare to express criticism of any government position whatsoever (whether they are Communists or non-party people) are subjected to humiliations and persecution and unlawful dismissal from work. For the slightest attempt to criticize, Communists are subjected to immediate expulsion from the party (in violation of the party constitution). Recently, the commitment of completely normal people to mental hospi-

→ to page 2

#177

PAGE 2 of 6

from page 1

tals has become more and more frequent.

We ask the representatives of the international Communist movement to help in the liquidation of such phenomena, which, like the distortions of Stalinism, constitute a shameful blemish on the entire international Communist movement. All of these judicial and extrajudicial repressions are aimed at suppressing independent beliefs. Again, as under Stalin, the alternative is silence. Again, as during that fearful time, we are being deprived of the opportunity to express our beliefs.

But despite persecution, people will not remain silent; they are protesting. After the fifty-year history of socialism in our country, Soviet people are not willing to equate socialism with Stalinism.

At the same time, recent years have seen the undertaking of more and more frequent attempts in literature and historical writing to restore to Stalin his former greatness and thereby to place in doubt the decision of the Twenty-Second Congress to remove Stalin from the mausoleum.

The growing influence of people who are striving to revive the Stalinist past has become more and more noticeable. Once again in the state and party apparatus old Stalinist cadres are setting the tone. How else can the introduction of Soviet troops into friendly Czechoslovakia be interpreted?

We ask the representatives of the Communist parties, whose ideal is the building of a totally just society:

Does it not alarm you that such an obvious restoration of Stalinism is occurring in our country, which is in the position of being the foremost Communist society? Is it really not possible to forestall the catastrophic consequences of this?

We appeal to you to examine the full seriousness of the situation and to do everything that your conscience and reason demand, everything in your power, to prevent the sinister shade of Stalin from darkening our future.

Tartars demonstrate for national rights

Another series of political trials is at hand in the Soviet Union — this time of ten leaders of the Crimean Tartars, a people whose struggle for national rights in defiance of Kremlin policies has reached a high level of mass organization and consciousness.

Under Stalin, in 1944, the entire nation was deported from the Crimea to Soviet Asia on the pretext that some Tartars were Nazi collaborators. In 1957, with de-Stalinization, their exile status was ended, but they were denied the right to return to their homeland and reconstitute the Crimean Tartar Autonomous Republic (first established under Lenin's revolutionary national policy). A decade of petitioning in vain for that right culminated in mass demonstrations by Tartars in 1968 — on Lenin's birthday, April 21 — and other mass protests thereafter.

On New Year's Day, 1969, Moscow representatives of the Crimean Tartars issued a statement recounting the recent repression against their people. "Our national question has not merely not been resolved," they declared, "the situation has been further aggravated by the severe repressive measures taken by the authorities. . ."

The statement condemns the hypocrisy of the Kremlin rulers who with "righteous anger" attack radical and national discrimination elsewhere in the world, but at the same time employ the most ruthless methods against "any expression by (the Tartars) of their distinct national identity, any demonstration of affection for the customs and traditions of their homeland. . ." The statement concludes:

"In 1968, the civic consciousness of our whole people rose even higher. Mass repressions have not frightened the Crimean Tartar people. The people have answered every illegal act with mass protests and a multitude of meetings and demonstrations. It is precisely this cohesion and strength of will that arouses the open fury of those who would like to preserve the system of the dark times of Stalin, when a handful of ignorant careerists and officials, headed by an infinitely inflated idol, could dictate their criminal will to (the) Soviet people paralyzed with fear, and could, at their own discretion, dispose of the property, sovereign territory and freedom of whole nations and peoples.

In the past period the national movement of the Crimean Tartar people for equal rights has entered a new phase. The courage and firmness of the Crimean Tartars has attracted the attention of Soviet progressive public opinion, of progressive people of the Soviet Union, to whom the honor of their country and the fate of its people is not a matter of indifference. Also the voice of progressive world opinion has begun to sound more and more insistently in support of us. Today we are not alone. In time the regime will have to take that into account. We, too, should reflect on these favorable conditions. While strengethening our ranks and activating our national forces, we should continue to look for friends throughout the country, throughout the world.

"Current world events serve as a sharp reminder that even the most powerful force cannot crush a people, however small in numbers, provided that it is united in its thoughts and actions."

workers Vanguard #177 - June 30, 1969

Lenin addresses a crowd in 1920, while Trotsky (at right) waits to speak. Soviet opponents of the bureaucracy today are inspired by the democratic concepts that motivated the Bolshevik leaders.

Oppositionists are seeking to restore workers democracy

by The Editors

For the first time in 40 years — since Stalin crushed the Trotskyist Left Opposition — voices of anti-bureaucratic dissent are being heard in the Soviet Union, calling for a return to the norms of workers democracy. It is impossible to estimate the size of the movement; their biggest public gathering was at the funeral of an old Bolshevik last fall, when 300 turned out to hear a former Soviet major general, P. G. Grigorenko, denounce the "bureaucratic machine" represented by the Kremlin. Their supporters no doubt number in the thousands, however. They include prominent intellectuals and citizens whose credentials as defenders of communism and the Soviet workers state can hardly be questioned.

This is clear from the content of their political program — support of oppressed nationalities within the USSR, like the Crimean Tartars; solidarity with the anti-bureaucratic struggle for socialist democracy in Czechoslovakia (it is their demonstrations against the August 1968 invasion that brought forth the latest series of political trials); solidarity with the anti-imperialist struggle around the world, and in the first place that of the Vietnamese (note the reference in the Tartars' appeal). Nearly every declaration resounds with the common theme, that the obvious abuses of Stalinism must be overcome if the name of communism is to be restored to its real progressive meaning.

The principal demand of these courageous dissenters is for that most fundamental freedom — the right to free speech, to discover and discuss the truth.

The dissidents testify in the clearest way to the unfinished character of the Russian revolution launched in October 1917 with the establishment of the world's first workers government under the leadership of Lenin and Trotsky. The Soviet state has made great strides forward, based on its nationalized, planned economy. It has clearly demonstrated its superiority over capitalist property relations. But many of the serious problems confronting it today may be traced in large part to the bureaucratic caste that grew up on the isolated and relatively backward economy bequeathed by Czarism to the victorious

→ to page 4

workers Vanguard #177 - June 30, 1969

→ from page 3

Russian working class.

That bureaucratic layer consolidated itself only at the cost of destroying the independence of the working class and Lenin's party, and erecting a repressive political apparatus that today constitutes a powerful brake on not only the cultural life of the country, but its very productive forces. Internationally, far from defending the workers state, the bureaucracy has continually subjected it to the gravest perils, with the destruction of the Communist International as a revolutionary force, and the ensuing series of costly defeats suffered in one country after another during the 1920s and '30s.

Following Stalin's death, the Soviet people anticipated an end to the terror that had marked his rule. But instead, they quickly found that the party's "de-Stalinization" — which consisted of downgrading Stalin while upholding the substance of his policies — was a hollow shell of extremely limited and half-hearted concessions, designed not to resolve the fundamental problems confronting the country, but to cut off the developing debate over the country's past . . . and future. The bureaucracy's dilemma, however, lies in this — that every concession they have been forced to make, simply opens the door to further questioning not just of Stalin's role, but to the role of his successors in the Kremlin. Because the truth would destroy their claim as the legitimate heirs of October, and thereby their right to rule, the bureaucracy has moved increasingly of late to clamp the lid down firmly on the growing dissent.

The biographer of Trotsky, Isaac Deutscher, well described the dilemma of today's anti-bureaucratic dissidents when he said that Soviet society, not knowing its past, does not understand its present. But the oppositionists' motto, Back to Lenin, indicates that many of them have a clear understanding that it is in the Leninist concepts of workers democracy that the program for post-Stalinist Soviet society must be found.

Today's dissidents, such as those represented on these pages, are the forerunners of the mass movement that will deliver the coup de grace to Stalinism and in doing so, will strike a powerful blow for the world socialist revolution which will overthrow the bureaucratic caste and lay the basis for the full development of socialist economy under workers control. The program has already been sketched out in the Eastern European workers states — in the workers' revolts in East Germany in 1953, in Poland and Hungary in 1956, and in Czechoslovakia last year. The slogans of the Hungarian workers' councils in 1956, taken up by the Czechoslovaks in 1968, are symptomatic: institutionalization of the workers' councils with the right of supervision over planning, the right to strike, and trade union independence. The Budapest central workers' council also called for recognition of all parties basing themselves on socialism. Such a program was spelled out with much greater precision for the first time thirty-odd years ago by Leon Trotsky in *The Revolution Betrayed*.

The struggle of the Soviet oppositionists has great relevance to socialists in Canada. The right wing leadership in the NDP has constantly told us that in the last analysis, the only alternative to Stalinism was alliance with U.S. imperialism, which they equate with "democracy"; hence their defense of the cold war military alliances. Socialists must reject this approach out of hand. *Our* allies are those courageous men and women within the Soviet Union who are struggling not for the restoration of capitalism, but against the counterrevolutionary bureaucracy, and thereby helping to build a socialist system a thousand times more democratic than any capitalist regime.

Workers Vanguard #177 - June 30, 1969

Critic was once hailed as 'model Communist'

Ivan Yakhimovich

Another leading oppositionist is Ivan Yakhimovich. He first gained prominence in 1964 when he was hailed in the pages of *Komsomolskaya Pravda*, the organ of the Young Communist League, as a model Communist and collective farm manager in Latvia.

In February 1968 he sent a letter to M. A. Suslov, the secretary of the Soviet Communist party, denouncing the trial and sentencing of two independent-minded young Soviet writers. Yuri Galanskov and Aleksander Ginzburg. For this, he was expelled from the party and both he and his wife lost their jobs.

During the long period of enforced idleness that ensued, before he found a job as a furnace stoker in a sanatorium, Yakhimovich went to Moscow where he met other dissidents. On July 29, 1968, he joined with former Major-General P. G. Grigorenko, the writer A. Y. Kosterin, and two other Communists in writing an open letter to the Czechoslovak leadership warning them that the Kremlin might use force to halt the democratization in Czechoslovakia.

After the August events, Yakhimovich began an essay on the invasion of Czechoslovakia. On September 27, 1968, under pretext of investigating a bank robbery, the police searched his home and confiscated his notes. On February 5, court officials in Riga began preparing a case against him for "anti-Soviet slander."

Anticipating arrest, Yakhimovich wrote a defense of his position just a few days before the police took him into custody on March 25. Excerpts are published below.

* * * *

My days of freedom are numbered. On the threshold of captivity, I address myself to those whose names I cannot forget. Hear me!

I am thirty-eight years old. I was born in Daugavpils as the tenth child of a washerwoman and a day laborer. After I graduated from high school, I studied at the Latvian Pyotr-Stuchka state university. Then I worked in the countryside as a high-school teacher, school inspector, and as the chairman of the Jauna Gvarde (Young Guard) collective farm in the Kraslava district. At present I am working as a stoker in the Belorussiia sanatorium in Yurmala, Latvian SSR. I was a member of the Komsomol (Young Communist League) for ten years and a member of the party for eight years.

I grew up among people to whom Lenin's name was more respected than any other, to whom his name was the authority for determining the truth. . . .

I am accused under Paragraph 183, Section 1, of the Criminal Code of the Latvian SSR of spreading fabrications slandering the Soviet state and social system. . . .

From what position do they approach this? From the class standpoint? By my social origin I am a worker and I am a worker now by the criterion of the job I am actually doing.

What law have I broken? The Constitution of the Latvian SSR and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights guarantee the freedom to write, to propagate ideas, to demonstrate, and so forth.

Do they fear perhaps that I am about to become a capitalist? But as a collective farm chairman, I did not possess a private plot or a cow or a sheep, or even a hen, but I lived on my wages. I have no house of my own, no car, no savings book. My only capital is my books and my three children. Do they think that I did not work and am not working for socialism? If not, what system am I working for, then? Whom does my freedom threaten and why must it be taken from me? . . .

Workers of Leningrad, Moscow, and Riga, dockers of Odessa, Liepai, and Tallinn: By going out onto Red Square to say "No" to the occupiers of Czechoslovakia, the worker Vladimir Dremliuga saved the honor of his class. He was thrown into jail. . . .

Who should help a worker if not another worker? One for all and all for one! . . .

Communists of all countries, Communists of the Soviet Union: You have *one* lord, *one* sovereign — the people. But the people is made up of living persons, of real lives. When human rights are violated, especially in the name of socialism and Marxism, there can be no two positions. Then your conscience and your honor must command.

Forward Communists! Forward Communists! Most of all, it is dangerous for Soviet power when people are deprived of their freedom because of their convictions, for it will not be long before it too loses its freedom.

Soviet citizens protest trials, launch appeal for free speech

The following are excerpts from the May 20 appeal to world opinion from 54 Soviet citizens, most of them prominent in the struggles for political rights in recent years in the Soviet Union. The statement is noteworthy for its insistence on the right to hold and impart political ideas — a direct challenge to the monopoly of political power exercised by the Stalinist bureaucracy. Similarly noteworthy is the deliberateness with which the signers decided to make an international appeal.

That the document is directed to the United Nations reveals, no doubt, that the signers — or at least some of them — have illusions about the United Nations, particularly concerning its role as an instrument of imperialist policy. The appeal would have been much better directed to workers and radical organizations abroad, as was the June 1 appeal to the conference of pro-Moscow CPs. However, possibly the signers of the document had in mind the decisive role the Soviet government played in creating the UN, and the fact that the USSR is a signatory to its key documents, including the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

* * * *

At political trials in the Soviet Union one often hears the statement, "You are not being tried for your opinions." This is totally untrue. We are tried precisely for our opinions. When they tell us they are not trying us for our opinions, they are in fact saying: "You can have any opinions you want, but if you contradict the official political doctrine, then don't you dare impart them."

And in truth, arrests and trials have occurred whenever people with opposition views have begun to impart those views.

But the imparting of opinions is the natural consequence of holding opinions. . . Thus while the formal basis for the repression is the imparting of opinions, in fact people are being tried for the opinions themselves. . . .

We shall cite several examples. . . .

The trial of Sinyavsky and Daniel, who were convicted for publishing outside the country literary works critical of Soviet reality.

The trial of Ginzburg, Galanskov, and others, who were tried for publishing the literary journal *Phoenix-67* and a white book on the Sinyavsky-Daniel trial.

The trial of Khaustov and Bukovsky, who organized a demonstration against the arrest of Ginzburg and Galanskov.

The trial of Litvinov, Larisa Daniel, and others for demonstrating against the introduction of Soviet troops into Czechoslovakia . . . .

The trial of Marchenkov . . . he was condemned for his book *My Confessions*, which is about the conditions of prisoners in the post-Stalin years.

The trial of I. Belogorodskaya for trying to distribute her letter in defense of Marchenko.

The trial of Gendler, Kravchevsky, and others in Leningrad, who were sentenced for distributing the books of foreign publishers. . . .

In the Ukraine — the trial in Kiev in 1966 at which over ten persons were convicted; the trial of Chornovil in Lwow, convicted for his book on the political trials; and many other trials.

The trials of the Crimean Tartars who are struggling to be returned to their native land of Crimea. . . .

The trials in the Baltic republics, in particular the trial of Kalninish and others.

The trials of Soviet Jews desiring the right to emigrate to Israel. . . .

The trials of religious believers demanding the right to freedom of religion. . . .

(The statement then documents "a series of new arrests," including those of Yakhimovich, Grigorenko and Gabai.)

These recent arrests have compelled us to conclude that the Soviet punitive organs have decided to suppress once and for all the activity of persons protesting arbitrariness in our country.

We judge that the freedom to hold and spread opinions is being critically imperiled.

We hope that what we have said in our letter will give the Human Rights Commission a basis for reviewing the question of the violation of basic civil rights in the Soviet Union.

Stalin

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workers Vanguard

#178

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Manitoba shows the way

by The Editors

The NDP is in power in Manitoba. Party leader Schreyer has been delayed from taking office only because of one of the many anti-democratic devices that the capitalist class have carefully built into parliamentary democracy — this time that the past premier can remain in office until the last absentee ballot is counted and the returns are actually published in the *Manitoba Gazette*.

The Liberals there, while in power in Ottawa, are in a state of collapse. One of their longtime leaders declared that "the Liberal Party is dead" as he identified himself with the NDP, thereby giving it an absolute majority over the combined capitalist party representation in the legislature. The lone Socred member may seek solace in the post of speaker and so increase the stability of the NDP majority. The Tories are in a state of deep shock, not only at their losing the government but at seeing their vote plummet from 39 percent down to 35 percent and the NDP vote skyrocket from 23 percent cent to 39 percent of the vote.

It is obvious that the heads of the capitalist party machines see no way out of this defeat. Were they to force another election it is apparent that the NDP would only increase its majority. They do not attribute the NDP breakthrough to the personal qualities of the new youthful leader of the party, to an "image" which can fade just as Trudeau's has been fading. They know full well that the NDP victory is not a fluke but is a reflection of the deepening discontent across the country and the developing difficulties in the economy which are sharpest right now in the prairies. They hold little hope that the NDP could be blocked by a coalition of their forces. Besides, with only one of their three parties having a strong majority in almost every other province, such a cure could prove worse than the disease.

The redistribution, which gave a more

(See page 6)

INSIDE:

New NDP document:

'For an independent, socialist Canada'

See p. 4

#178

• • • Meaning of Manitoba NDP victory

(continued from page 1)

accurate weight to the urban ridings, revealed the depth of support that the NDP has in the working class. At the same time it won 11 rural seats, showing its deep roots in the ranks of the working farmer.

There is little doubt that the Manitoba victory is but the precursor of an NDP victory in British Columbia, that it heralds the return of the NDP to power in Saskatchewan, and poses possible victory in Ontario — and why not a real breakthrough in highly volatile Quebec?

The Manitoba election is a victory for the principle of independent labor political action. With one stride thousands have entered the political arena, independent of the capitalist parties and under the banner of a party based on the organized labor movement. It is true that the program of victory was not one of fundamental change, not socialist but liberal-reformist. Thus this first step has a faltering character. But with victory, anticipations are high. With this breakthrough the whole motion is forward — in the direction of socialism, the only way out for the workers of Canada and the entire world.

To be sure it is a victory for the liberal reformists in the party if only for the fact that they are in the leadership of the party. But they do not control the breaker that is beginning to surge forward. They are only riding on its surface.

It is a victory for the socialists in the NDP, for the Socialist Caucuses, for the *Workers Vanguard* and for the League for Socialist Action/Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière. It is a victory for all those who have struggled to win the party to a class struggle policy and a socialist perspective, for all those who in the face of expulsions and setbacks never lost the long view.

Now, with Manitoba and the promises of victory elsewhere, the socialists will begin to come into their own. They will be able to move out of the narrow discussion circles to which they have been limited and much closer to the broad arena of the class struggle.

Should be a bestseller

News item: "Morton Shulman (NDP, High Park) said last night he has decided not to publish immediately photographs he took shortly after midnight yesterday of two Conservative backbenchers asleep in the legislature. Instead, he said he will hold them for publication in a book he plans to write entitled The Decline and Fall of the Conservative Party, which he said he will publish after the next provincial election in 1971."

workers Vanguard

#178

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Trudeau's Indian policy means more of this

EVICTED FROM HOME, Mrs. Mabel Driver and her children look at their furniture piled in a neighbor's yard in Toronto. The Drivers agreed to forfeit their land on an Indian reserve to a white man in return for a house in the city, but were then evicted from the house for arrears of payments. Their situation underscores the plight of Canada's 200,000 treaty Indians, who are being forced by rotten living conditions off the reserves into the cities where they face further unemployment, sickness, and poor housing.

The federal government recently announced plans to abolish its Indian Affairs department within five years, thereby depriving treaty Indians of medicare, free schooling, housing grants, tax-free status, protection of lands from seizure and other rights to which they are entitled under the present Indian Act.

workers
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The rift deepens

by The Editors

Analyzing the conference of pro-Moscow Communist parties which met in the Kremlin June 2-17, many commentators emphasize the open rift that the meeting so clearly revealed in the world Stalinist movement.

While 75 parties attended the conference, five governing parties — those of China, Albania, North Korea, North Vietnam and Yugoslavia — stayed away.

Five parties, including the British and Cuban, totally refused to sign the final policy statements.

Four parties, including the Italian and Australian, would sign only the third part of the main document, dealing with "the struggle for peace."

The Rumanian, Spanish and Swiss parties would sign only with reservations which are to be formally written into the conference record. Other parties, while signing, openly expressed reservations on some points.

More significant, however, than this open dissension — which only reaffirms the further fracturing of Moscow's once-monolithic control — was the ominous deepening of the split with China. The condemnation of the Chinese Communist party leadership was the central task of the conference from the time when it was first conceived.

A secondary task was to place a stamp of approval on the invasion of Czechoslovakia and the doctrine issued by Moscow to justify it — the alleged right of "socialist states" (the most powerful one, that is) to intervene in the internal affairs of "other socialist states."

There was nothing new in the charges levelled against the Chinese — that they had betrayed internationalism, "split the world system of socialist states," "made unjust territorial claims," and preached Mao's "messianic role." Coming from the leading participants in the plot to use the armies of the Warsaw Pact to crush the struggle for proletarian democracy in the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, they were notable only for their hypocrisy.

One paragraph in particular in the speech read by Leonid Brezhnev, general secretary of the Soviet party, caught the attention of diplomats: "We are of the opinion that the course of events is putting on the agenda the task of creating a system of collective security in Asia." Brezhnev slandered the Chinese: "Judging by what the Peking press says, Mao and his henchmen entertain quite definite designs on a number of countries in this part of the world." An article in *Izvestia* a few days earlier had spoken of a "vacuum" being created if the British pulled out east of Suez and if the Americans withdrew from South Vietnam.

These remarks constitute a brazen effort to provide justification for Moscow's policy of collaborating with the bourgeoisie in colonial countries and of shipping them arms to be used in putting down insurgent movements.

The charge that China is fostering war also served to divert attention from the highly embarrassing scandal of Moscow's intervention in Czechoslovakia. In place of the real movement of Soviet troops into that small weak country, Brezhnev sought to substitute the hypothetical movement of Chinese troops into the powerful USSR.

Of all the speeches in the Kremlin's ornate St. George's Hall, only one represented the viewpoint of an authentic revolutionary leadership. That was the address by the representative of revolutionary Cuba, Carlos Rafael Rodriguez, which is reported on the opposite page. It was a scarcely veiled denunciation of Moscow's most cherished concepts, with no mention of China. Particularly noteworthy was Rodriguez' appeal for all-out defense of the Vietnamese revolution.

The Moscow conference, of course, was not convened in order to build support for the embattled Vietnamese, who are in the front ranks of the anti-imperialist struggle. It had an altogether different purpose — to read the Chinese Communist party out of the world Communist movement. To the extent that it confirmed the isolation of the Chinese workers state within the non-capitalist world, the Moscow conclave in fact *weakened* the anti-imperialist front.

THE WORKERS
VANGUARD

#178 - July 14, 1969

SOLIDARITY WITH VIETNAM. Che's famous words, "Create two, three, many Vietnams," dominate the Plaza of the Revolution in Havana. Cuban leadership stresses necessity for opening up new fronts in the anti-imperialist struggle as best means of defending the Vietnamese revolution.

Cubans query role of CPs in anti-imperialist struggle

The speech by Carlos Rafael Rodriguez at the Moscow conference on behalf of the Communist party of Cuba, is an important statement. It is being given wide circulation by the Cubans. Cuba did not participate in the conference, but attended as an observer. It did not sign any of the policy statements issuing from the conference.

In several respects, Rodriguez took issue with the Kremlin leaders' reformist concept of "peaceful coexistence."

The Cuban spokesman questioned the role of the Communist parties in the advanced capitalist countries. Stressing the need to combat "opportunism," he stated that "the Communist party of Cuba would have preferred that the document stress even more the aspects of self-criticism and the realistic appreciation of contemporary events and of the participation in them of the international communist movement.

"Pointing out the role of the working class, of its allies and of the Communist parties called for an analysis of the weaknesses of the workers' movement in the developed capitalist countries and of the action of the Communist parties in various regions.

"It is true that, as stated in the document, 'The events of recent times have once again confirmed the fact that the working class is the main force in the anti-imperialist and revolutionary struggle in the capitalist countries.' But it is also true that the events in Europe served to show what the working class and its organizations are still lacking in order to fulfil their role fully. . ."

The Cuban leader also took issue with the claim in the main document that the official pro-Moscow Communist parties are leading the democratic and anti-imperialist struggle: "We would not be fair to this Conference if we did not clearly state our opinion that that image does not correspond to reality with regard to certain Communist parties in Latin America."

Rodriguez sharply dissociated the Cuban party from Moscow's policy of subordinating the anti-imperialist struggle to a "struggle for peace" in alliance with non-working class, and even bourgeois, forces. "The defense of peace," he declared, "cannot constitute 'the essential orientation of united actions of the anti-imperialist forces,' (the words of the document) as this would lessen our historical goals.

"The anti-imperialist forces must establish as the essential aim of their actions the defeat and elimination of imperialism."

Far more important than attempts to "unite sectors which are not anticapitalist or even anti-imperialist" in a "struggle for peace," the Cuban leader said, is to unite with "the forces that are today confronting, or are able to confront, imperialism, determined to wipe it, as a system, off the face of the earth."

The "cardinal objective" of anti-imperialist unity, he declared, must be "to give multilateral support to the heroic Vietnamese people."

As far as Rodriguez' immediate listeners were concerned, his speech fell on deaf ears. But it nonetheless constitutes an important exposition of the evolution of the Cuban leadership's thinking, all the more significant in view of the rostrum from which it was delivered.

workers Vanguard #109 - Aug. 11, 1969

Army's anti-labor training shows real meaning of security report

by the Editors

In striking confirmation of the dangers posed in the recent government "subversion" report, a recent Canadian Forces exercise at Gagetown, N.B., directed its mock attack against a strange enemy — the trade union movement.

That the army is training not to defend Canada but to attack insurgent popular movements in Vietnam, Latin America or elsewhere — this has been repeatedly proven. But this time, at Gagetown, the task was to hunt down "a supposed labor leader" and seize photos and names of union leaders on his person.

What else is the army training for — crushing strikes, or breaking up mass demonstrations, or hunting down and destroying labor and socialist organizations? The government's Royal Commission report on security, tabled in the House of Commons, June 26, shows the extent and urgency of the danger.

The Royal Commission was originally convened in response to the public outcry against RCMP harassment and persecution of supposed radicals and communists. Yet the report totally accepts the government's "anti-subversive" apparatus, and proposes to further extend government powers, for example by granting it the formal right to open letters, tap phones, and carry out electronic snooping of suspected citizens.

"Subversion" is defined in terms of any threat to security of the state or social stability, and "subversive activities," we read, may include what we all thought were basic democratic rights — for example "lobbying, propaganda campaigns . . . political or economic pressures." Who can feel safe from the government "subversive" label, applied by such sweeping criteria?

In a blow clearly aimed at the League for Socialist Action/Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière, the commission singled out the Trotskyists as a particularly effective and dangerous subversion force.

LSA/LSO executive secretary Ross Dowson replied in a speech to the Montreal Socialist Forum July 10, "Trotskyism does not hide its aims, does not use other means than those freely available to push its position, and does not seek power without majority support. The main purpose of their remarks," he continued, "was not only to put Trotskyism on the subversive list, but also to brand the Quebec independentist movement as subversive." (As reported in Montreal *Star* and *Gazette*, July 11.)

The report, and the "subversion" apparatus it defends, violate the basic principle of democracy which the Canadian people have fought to win and defend. Democracy includes the right of all views, no matter how unpopular, to be freely heard, the right of all to associate and advocate their views without hindrance.

Counterposed to this in the "security" report stands the assertion of the government's right to decree which ideas and groups are legitimate, and which "subversive," to arbitrarily hinder and harass political groups it disapproves of.

The New Brunswick army exercise is a tip-off of the real meaning of the "security" report and the government "anti-subversion" activities it defends. The report aims to strengthen the power of the capitalist state to persecute and if necessary suppress any movement for fundamental social change. It is another step towards a government blacklist of communists, Trotskyists, Quebec independentists, or anyone it arbitrarily deems subversive.

Canadian Labor Congress president Donald MacDonald has denounced the army's Gagetown exercise as an insult to Canadian trade unionists, and called for an investigation and public apology from the officer responsible.

With the government likely to open a full debate on the Royal Commission report in parliament next session, the labor movement must now extend its attack to the witch-hunt and spy apparatus that masks as "security." In place of NDP leader T. C. Douglas' initial acceptance of the framework of the Royal Commission report in parliament June 26, it must launch a frontal assault on the entire "anti-subversive" system which poses such grave threats to the democratic rights of the Canadian people.

VMC assails maneuvers

The Vietnam Mobilization Committee, organizer of the mass anti-war rally of 10,000 in Toronto last April, has denounced the recent army exercise in Gagetown, N.B., aimed at apprehending "a supposed labor leader." In a statement issued July 22, the committee solidarized itself with the protest of CLC president Donald MacDonald, and called for an apology and full public investigation.

The committee drew the parallel between this exercise and others in which the enemies were "guerrillas" in Latin America and Asia.

These exercises, the VMC stated, "not only create an atmosphere that those who are fighting for social justice are criminals but also portend what may become reality in the future. One can only assume that Canadian troops may be employed against trade unionists and radicals here in Canada and against those fighting for their freedom in countries such as Vietnam."

Workers' Vanguard #179 Aug. 11, 1969

Exclude women in job retraining

Thousands have been taking job-retraining courses for industrial employment financed out of federal-provincial funds under Canada Manpower. But there are almost no women among them. The reason is simple. Such courses are not available to them.

There is only one course in the whole country designed to prepare women for jobs in industry. It is being conducted in Peterborough and is composed of nine women. After completing six weeks of instruction and finishing six projects the women hope to find employment in local factories.

Inco union rejects offer

The strike of 17,200 members of the United Steelworkers in Sudbury and Port Colborne against the profit-fat International Nickel colussus moved into its fourth week with the rejection by the union of a 71½ cent wage increase offer spread over a three year contract. Steel leader Larry Sefton ridiculed the offer as being completely unrealistic in the face of zooming living costs.

Falconbridge Nickel Mines Limited, at the same time as it announced a 59.4 percent increase in profits for the first quarter over last year's first quarter profits, offered its Sudbury employees an 8½ percent increase — along with an added little sweet — a promise to up it to whatever the Inco workers are able to score through their strike. The Falconbridge workers are members of independent Local 598 calling itself Mine Mill and Smelter Workers.

Now that the Supreme Court has upheld 598's challenge that the 1967 merger between Steel and Mine Mill is invalid, Falconbridge probably thought that 598's members would be prepared to ride in on whatever Steel wins.

It didn't work. A membership meeting of 598 voted the offer down 963 to 55. 598 is still in negotiations but might yet unite with Steel in action on the picket lines.

union front

UAW must act on plant closures

Vast sums from the public treasury are being turned over to some of the wealthiest corporations on the continent to encourage them to set up operations in areas that have been declared depressed. Along with direct subsidies, rapid depreciation write offs, etc., often go long term low interest bearing loans, land tax exemptions, free water, cut-rate hydro, prepared access to road and rail from local governments.

The United Automobile Workers Union, along with two local communities, has just suffered two grievous blows. Massey Ferguson declared, as it tossed out all 1,150 employees from its Brantford plant, that over 250 will not be recalled when it resumes operation in September. Kelvinator of Canada, which has been absorbed by conglomerate White Consolidated Industries, Inc., tossed 300 workers into the street when it shut its London plant. The plant was declared to be inefficient.

The UAW has done nothing to protect its members and the life of these communities — not even so much as to raise the demand that the plants be rehabilitated by the companies out of accumulated profits. The government is doing nothing. Possibly it is waiting until these communities can be declared depressed areas.

— Paul Kent

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Set by Union Labor.

Very good edit

Trudeau tells the truth ... about parliament

by The Editors

Who really governs this country? Not parliament, in any case. We now have it from the highest authority, none other than the Right Honorable Pierre Elliott Trudeau.

Stung by opposition charges of "dictatorship" as his government rammed through a three-month adjournment of the house on July 25, the prime minister lost his cool and, just for once, told it like it really is.

It is not parliament, he said, but the government that makes the laws. Parliament's role is simply to ratify the cabinet's proposals. At most, it is a means for the government to sample public opinion through the refracted mirror of our elected representatives. In Trudeau's words, parliamentary democracy is "a system which permits the majority party to demand a vote on the proposals it seeks to incorporate into statute as solutions to the needs of the nation."

As for the opposition members, they're just "nobodies" — "They do not have to govern, they have only to talk. The best place in which to talk, if they want a forum, is, of course, parliament. When they get home, when they get out of parliament, when they are 50 yards from Parliament Hill, they are no longer honorable members — they are just nobodys, Mr. Speaker."

Among the "nobodys," Trudeau might have included the Liberal backbenchers too. For as everyone knows, it is the cabinet, not the "majority party," that brings government bills before the house, and party whips guarantee the silence of government backbenchers. (Liberal MP Steven Otto revealed last February that Liberal backbenchers have been told not to change a bill in any way when it comes before a commons committee, let alone the house itself.)

Even within parliament, the MPs are virtual nobodys. New rules rammed through parliament last month allow the cabinet to severely limit the length of debate on motions before the house.

The opposition reacted to the prime minister's words with shock and dismay. Most indignant were the NDP leaders, who treat parliament with the utmost reverence and sincerely anticipate that the capitalist parties will do likewise.

But no matter how much it hurt, Mr. Trudeau in this instance spoke the truth. Parliament is nothing more, nothing less than a highly sophisticated machine built on complicated rules of procedure designed to frustrate the people's will while at the same time fostering the illusion that the real power lies with our elected representatives. A disillusioned parliamentarian, John Brown, an NDP member of the Ontario legislature, puts it correctly in a recent issue of the *New Democrat:* "What we have under the name of parliamentary procedure are rules and regulations which protect the sovereignty of the government and the party in power." He laments the fact that "some of our most able men have spent their political lives being trapped by the parliamentary game," and asks, "Have we not been fooled by our own dedication to, and belief in, the parliamentary process?"

Unless the NDP puts parliament in its proper perspective, as just one form of action — and not the most important, at that — its voice threatens to become lost in the morass of petty politicking that characterizes this increasingly irrelevant institution.

WV #179 Aug. 11, 1969

readers forum

This column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief.

CBRT opposition

Montreal, Que.

Yes, the opposition at the special convention of the Canadian Brotherhood of Railway Transport and General Workers to merger with the Brotherhood of Railway, Airline and Steamship Clerks, although they carried the day, 305 against to 61 for, certainly have no perspective, as you stated in your June 30 evaluation.

And not just that they polluted the atmosphere with ignorant, demagogic, nationalistic, chauvinistic rhetoric, which makes it much more difficult to realize any future unity either organic or around some special issue of common concern with other railway workers — all of whom have international (U.S.) affiliations.

Although the opposition defeated the CBRT leadership, which had a correct position on this question but is bureaucratic and conservative to the core along with the rest of the trade union bureaucracy, they did nothing at all towards realizing the number one task — the building of a new militant leadership. President Smith got a standing ovation at the conclusion of the convention. The editors of the official journal, *Transport,* took comfort that the opposition "were careful not to project their opposition to the merger talks into a vendetta against their elected leaders."

The *Canadian Tribune's* (June 18 issue) coverage of the convention was in startling contrast to your clear and unequivocal position. Their feature writer Charles Lutz hails the defeat of the unity proposition as an "impressive and enthusiastic show of 'Canada First' sentiment." But back in the Letters to the Editor column they have George Thompson making a withering attack on Lutz's whole line.

Thompson characterizes the line that Lutz advocates as "Liberal-Labor opportunism" and accuses the tendency upheld by Lutz of "aiming their main fire not at the monopolies, principally U.S., exploiting the workers but at international unions because of the reactionary U.S. leadership," and of looking up "to the Liberal party demagogues as being more progressive than the NDP . . ."

The Communist Party editors, although promoting the "Liberal-Labor opportunist" line of Lutz, make no comment at all on Thompson's withering attack.

Glad you weren't diverted by the decisive vote against the merger. Those delegates didn't represent the rank and file who were not even brought into the debate, but the narrow layer of old timers who constitute the machinery of the CBRT. Wonder why an issue like this did not go to a referendum vote of the entire membership?

Jean Laplante

LAW AND ORDER, CANADIAN STYLE. Operation Pine Cone pits RCMP officers against "demonstrators" led by a supposed labor leader in a mock riot staged by Canadian army at Camp Gagetown, N.B.

Gov't prepares to allow 4 U.S. bases in Canada

The Trudeau government is preparing to allow the U.S. Strategic Air Command to establish bases in Canada. Under opposition prodding, Defense Minister Cadieux told the House on July 16 that he personally favored granting the Pentagon request to establish four bases, ostensibly to service the jet tankers that refuel the giant bombers.

One of the bases is at Namao, on the outskirts of Edmonton. The other three are at Churchill, Man., Cold Lake, Alta., and Frobisher Bay, NWT.

The U.S. request was first made two years ago. But a decision on it will be made very soon, Cadieux said.

Once the bases are equipped to handle tankers the government is not likely to refuse further permission for the bombers themselves to use the same facilities. In any case, by giving the tankers a northern base, Canada will be effectively advancing the range of the bombers in their provocative flights over Canadian territory up to the borders of the Soviet Union. Cadieux says the bases will be known as SAC bases.

It is generally known that these giant bombers, which are kept on a 24 hour airborne alert, are armed with nuclear weapons. Cadieux claims the bombers would not carry nuclear bombs, but it may be he is grasping at the advertised fact that these bombs are "unprimed" barring an order to prime them from the top U.S. command.

When the matter came up in the Commons, former Tory prime minister John Diefenbaker defended the government move, which is similar to a previous agreement his government had with the U.S. Defense Department for five years up to 1963. Only the New Democratic Party MPs opposed the impending deal.

NDP leader T. C. Douglas asked if the U.S. request would involve the stationing of U.S. military personnel on Canadian soil, and if the program would include "not only a military alert but also tactical or strategic exercises." Cadieux replied only that "these bases would be used in time of international crises" and that "these personnel would be flown in with the operation itself" in that event. What he didn't add is that Canada would thereby find itself directly involved with U.S. policy in such a crisis.

The government's move to allow these bases comes at a time when U.S. bases are under widespread attack following revelations that it has been Pentagon policy since the 1950s to store nerve gas and other chemical weapons on U.S. bases all over the world. This came out after 25 Americans were hospitalized on Okinawa due to a leakage of deadly nerve gas stored on a military base there. It is not known how many bases have such weapons. Is Canada slated to be put on the list?

Workers' Vanguard #179 - Aug. 11, 1969

Broad left forms in NDP

An important document

by Anne Macdonald

The document "For an Independent, Socialist Canada" (see *Vanguard*, July 14) now being circulated among the left of the New Democratic Party, is a significant new development in the continuing debate over the direction and program of the NDP.

The document, or "manifesto," as its authors refer to it, challenges many key concepts embodied in the party's traditional program and upheld by its present leadership. What is more, the manifesto's sponsors are prominent members of the party, whose commitment to building the NDP cannot be questioned.

They now include leading party officials, elected NDP representatives, leading trade unionists and academics, and a large number of serious rank and file members. The document should therefore be carefully analyzed by all who are concerned with winning the NDP to socialism.

Generally, the document presents an alternative perspective far to the left of previous party policy.

Progressive

Starting from "nationalism," that is, a concern with Canada's vanishing independence in relation to the United States, the manifesto acknowledges the anti-imperialist implications of this position, and concludes that "capitalism must be replaced by socialism," which it correctly identifies with "national planning of investment" and "the public ownership of the means of production . . ." It rejects the concept of "an independence movement based on substituting Canadian capitalists for American capitalists, or on public policy to make foreign corporations behave as if they were Canadian corporations."

The document clearly projects the need to go beyond the "welfare state" and "liberal capitalism" toward a "redistribution of power." To this effect, it outlines a greatly expanded role for workers in the industrial process, including "effective control in the determination of working conditions and substantial power in determining the nature of the product, prices and so on."

Moreover, the document sees the NDP as much more than an electoral or parliamentary machine. "The first priority of the NDP," it says, must be "the development of socialist consciousness," through building a "mass base of socialists, in factories and offices, on farms and campuses." It advocates active participation by socialists in extra-parliamentary movements like tenants unions, cooperatives and neighborhood organizations.

Lacks class analysis

Many concepts in the document are only touched upon and will require elaboration in subsequent discussions among its supporters. However, the document as it stands also suffers from some important omissions and even errors which must be corrected if the discussion is to go forward. It is in this light that the following comments are made.

The fundamental problem of the manifesto lies in its absence of a class analysis, that is, an analysis based on a scientific understanding of the underlying social contradictions and class conflicts in the capitalist system. Its approach is essentially idealist, not materialist; socialism is simply presented as desirable, not as the historically progressive system that it is — the necessary next stage in the development of society.

One result of this is that while the manifesto correctly points to what it terms the "corporate elite's" role of "junior partner" with U.S. imperialism, it seriously underestimates the importance of the Canadian capitalist class as an obstacle to socialism in Canada. Canada is ruled by a capitalist class, a homogeneous closed ruling circle with its own definable class interests. Because this class seldom if ever comes into conflict with U.S. capitalist interests, it may appear to be completely subservient to them. But it would be quite incorrect to conclude from this that Canada is simply a colony, or that its ruling circles are similar in all respects to the comprador bourgeoisie of the classic colonial countries.

In Canada, a developed capitalist country, imperialist economic integration has been carried to its furthest point, with the active collaboration and assistance of the Canadian ruling class which has in return been granted a favored position in "the American empire." The multi-national corporation, with its U.S. shareholders and its Canadian directors, may lead to confusion when it comes to determining the nationality of ultimate corporate control; but it is the Canadian ruling class and its political representatives in the Tory and Liberal parties who bear responsibility for anti-labor legislation, corporation tax write-offs, and inadequate welfare legislation, and who continue to reject out of hand even minimal accommodation to the growing demands from French Canada for political and economic equality with English Canada.

Need new type of state

Its complicity with U.S. imperialism's attempts to crush the anti-capitalist national liberation movement in Vietnam, originates not so much from its subservience to U.S. imperialist interests, as from its highly-developed self-conscious awareness of the long-range interests of world capitalism, and its recognition of Washington's role as foremost defender of that system.

In the last analysis, the "redistribution of power" in Canada must mean the substitution of working class rule for the present capitalist rule, the creation of a new type of state, a workers state. "Socialist consciousness" can only be built by relating our demands to this necessity for the socialist transformation of class relationships.

The error of a fundamentally classless analysis is particularly evident in the document's all-too-rudimentary discussion of Quebec. The slogan "two nations, one struggle," which it advances, is a dangerous oversimplification that ignores the independent dynamic and tempo of the national struggle of the Québécois against both U.S. and *English Canadian* capital and the latter's political power concentrated in the centralized state apparatus. Moreover, by predicating a "united Canada" as of "critical importance" in fighting U.S. imperialism, the document opens the door to the dangerous implication that Quebec socialists must tailor their struggle to meet the requirements of the English-Canadian — *capitalist* — state.

Self-determination for Quebec

On the contrary, English Canadian socialists must give unconditional support to the right to self-determination of the French Canadian nation, up to and including its right to political separation from Canada. What we need is a united *working class*, not a united Canada; and consistent defense of Quebec's right to self-determination is the necessary basis for such unity. An independent, socialist Quebec (and could an independent Quebec be anything but socialist?), if it came to that, would be a tremendous blow for socialism in English Canada . . . and the United States.

Program for labor

The document recognizes as "central" the importance of the working class and labor movement in the struggle for socialism. But in defining the NDP merely as "the parliamentary wing of a movement dedicated to fundamental social change" or the "common focus," the "core around which should be mobilized the social and political movement necessary for building an independent socialist Canada," it plays down the great significance of the party as the Canadia labor party, the political — and not just parliamentary — expression of labor's class interests and organizational independence of the

→to page 2

capitalist parties.

Similarly, instead of advancing the concept of concrete transitional demands which can project the workers into anti-capitalist struggle — such as the shorter work week at the same take-home pay; or sliding scale of wages, etc. — it wavers back and forth between rhetoric about "effective control" and "substantial power" for the workers in the plants, and the more common concept of "participation". . . presumably with the capitalist owners of industry. But any concept of "participation" short of workers *control* of industry, so long as industry remains in private hands, can tend to divert the unions from the socialist direction into shouldering and apologizing for the burden imposed on them by the inherent contradictions of the capitalist system.

Socialists must oppose any and all restrictions upon the independence of the unions with respect to both management and the state. Yet the document advances no program to defend the trade unions against the growing number of anti-labor laws which hamstring the trade unions' ability to implement the will of their memberships.

"For an Independent Socialist Canada" calls for an end to Canada's complicity in the Vietnam war and withdrawal from "the American alliance system." However, it generally omits any discussion of the overall international context. It does speak of the "American empire" as "the central reality" for Canadians. But another aspect of the world reality is the workers states and the nations struggling to escape from the orbit of the capitalist market.

Insofar as these forces weaken U.S. imperialism (Vietnam) they constitute powerful allies for the anti-imperialist struggle here. To the extent that the growing forces of world revolution provoke and deepen the contradictions within American society (the anti-war movement, the Black liberation struggle), they provide us with valuable allies in the heartland of imperialism. We must project a socialist foreign policy which aligns Canadian workers with these tremendous forces. We must dissociate ourselves from the cold war military alliances like NATO and NORAD which have as their sole aim to make the world safe from socialism. And we have to project meaningful aid and trade with the real "developing countries," the countries like Cuba and Vietnam, etc., which are building a socialist system.

Role of leadership

Finally, the lessons that can be learned from Britain should not be ignored. The left in the Labor party succeeded in winning a majority in conference — only to see conference decisions ignored or violated under leaders like Hugh Gaitskell and Harold Wilson. Similarly, the right wing leaders of the NDP have all too often ignored and violated convention decisions where they wished. Their liberal-reformist concepts, which in the last analysis treat capitalism as the best of all possible worlds, are in irreconcilable contradiction with the socialist program.

Thus supporters of this document must come to grips with the necessity to build an alternative leadership in the party. As a first step, they should be prepared to campaign as candidates for leadership positions on the basis of their ideas.

"For an Independent, Socialist Canada" appears at an excellent juncture in the NDP's development. The victory in Manitoba and the expected gains in B.C. show the potential that exists right across the country for NDP governments. We are now being presented with an opportunity to test the party's program and leadership in action.

This document is a major step toward going beyond the "band-aids" which the reformist right wing leadership has presented up to now. Its growing list of supporters, to be announced shortly, indicates the possibility for the first time of a mass left wing forming in the NDP. This left wing will take up the struggle which has been carried by the relatively small forces around the Socialist Caucus in B.C., Ontario and for a while in Alberta.

The appearance of this and related documents at the coming Winnipeg convention makes it likely that this assembly will be the most significant yet in the party's history.

photo by S

Anti-war demonstrations have played in educating Canadians as to nature of U.S. imperialism and its accompli ian government and business.

Workers' Vanguard #179 - Aug. 11, 1969

U.S. profs control campus studies

"A U.S. dean of arts who would permit his three closest associates to be U.S. citizens in a Canadian university is either indifferent or unsympathetic to the development of the university as a Canadian institution," Mathews said.

The subcommittee found that the fine arts department lists no history or appreciation of Canadian art, no study of Canadian music; that the sociology-anthropology department lists 62 courses, not one of which mentions Canada or its sociology, that the English department lists two courses in Canadian literature compared with nine in U.S. literature and several more with U.S. literature content.

The university's director of information labelled the report "a witch hunt in the worst McCarthy tradition," and attempted to counteract it with the claim that the eight U.S. chairmen were just new appointments and after all heading departments that had been developed by Canadians. He later admitted that 57.5 percent of the present faculty were Canadian citizens as compared with 68.4 percent five years ago.

The Mathews report urged that graduate fellowship grants be limited to Canadians and a "specified percentage" of landed immigrants, that the number of foreign graduate students be limited, that courses with Canadian content in Ontario universities be listed, and that all major university posts be reserved for Canadians.

A survey of the 400 member faculty of Arts and Science of York University (Toronto) undertaken by faculty dean John Saywell and released to the press earlier this month confirmed the Waterloo report. The survey revealed that there are more U.S. born full time arts teachers than Canadian born, 35.3 percent to 34.4 percent, and that U.S. born professors make up at least 40 percent of the departments of political science, humanities, sociology, social science, philosophy, mathematics and psychology.

The situation at the University of Waterloo "is nothing less than a blueprint for cultural genocide," according to Robin Mathews, professor of English at Carleton University.

Mathews chaired a subcommittee struck off by the Emergency Symposium on the Americanization of Canadian Universities held in Montreal earlier this year. This subcommittee has just submitted its report on the Kitchener-Waterloo university to the Ontario minister of education.

The committee notes that eight departments in the university have U.S. chairmen: English, fine arts, history, philosophy, political science, psychology, sociology and economics. More than half the full professors in these departments are U.S. citizens as are the dean of arts, his two associate deans and the deputy dean.

'Put Canadian Sovereignty in center stage'-Mathews

Ottawa, Ont.

Editor,

My last letter, you say, poses some important questions. I agree with you profoundly. Do I feel, you ask, that Vietnam is chiefly a U.S. problem? Not at all. I have met, marched, and written about Vietnam. My writing has had particular reference to Canadian involvement.

But I have come to certain conclusions about Canada-U.S. relations. However grave particular problems like the Vietnam war are, they are, I suggest, symptomatic of a single problem for Canadians: the problem of Canadian sovereignty.

If the Vietnam war is ended, Canadian complicity in the undesirable foreign policies of the U.S.A. will not be ended until Canadians assert sovereignty over foreign affairs. And of course Canadians won't do that until they assert sovereignty over internal affairs.

One of the ways to move towards those goals is to place Canadian issues and Canadian sovereignty in the center of the Canadian stage (which is *not* to say that other issues should be removed from the stage).

That I suggest is what Hugh MacLennan meant in his Montreal speech. Not that Vietnam is a U.S. problem or not a Canadian problem. But that Canadian "activists" had accepted U.S. terms of activism, and when there was a desperate need for signs of "rapprochement" at McGill, students were marching about Vietnam.

That opens a large question that I seriously would like to hear more about. How much is Canadian activism dictated by U.S. activism? How often do U.S. citizens (as they did at the Conference on Socialist Studies) try to prevent Canadians from taking Canadian problems seriously if they seem to conflict with the interests of U.S. citizens in Canada?

I believe there is a kind of sentimentalist, continentalist socialism at work in much of the Canadian Left. Am I right? I really don't know about these things. But I will leave you with two sayings. "There is but one real truth to grasp about the U.S. Left — the real U.S. Left — and that is that it doesn't exist." "Canada-U.S. relations are defined by the good old fashioned principle of give and take. Canada gives. The U.S. takes."

Robin Mathews

Workers' Vanguard #179 - Aug. 11, 1969 (2 pages)

A reply to Robin Mathews

How to end 'Americanization' of culture

by Ross Dowson

The previous issue of the Vanguard carried a letter from Professor Robin Mathews who with Professor John Steele, also of Carleton University, Ottawa, initiated a protest against the influx of foreign professors (largely U.S.) into Canada and what they call the Americanization of Canadian universities.

This protest has since roused considerable interest. The Emergency Symposium on the Americanization of Canadian universities held in Montreal in mid-May not only attracted over 100 university teachers and students but featured a widely publicized address supporting the main line of the Mathews-Steele protest by Hugh MacLennan, professor of literature at McGill and Canada's most eminent novelist.

Professor Mathews' first letter was in response to an article on this question appearing in our June 16 issue. With this issue we reproduce another letter from Professor Mathews expressing the desire that we carry the discussion further on several questions related to the Americanization of Canadian universities. Since John Riddell, the author of the original article, is on holidays, we asked Ross Dowson, executive secretary of the League for Socialist Action/Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière, to reply. —the Editors

The working people of Canada are indebted to Professors Mathews and Steele and those associated with the Emergency Symposium on the Americanization of Canadian Universities for their penetrating research.

The facts that they have unearthed are infuriating the Establishment and even startling those who have for sometime been aware of the tremendous and persistent pressure of American capitalism's cultural values on Canada. Canadian culture, in so far as it exists, is incapable of withstanding this pressure. Only Quebec, with its long tradition, protected by its own language, has proven able to resist. Indian culture, unassimilable by capitalism, has been pushed into tiny, isolated sidepockets.

The prevailing ideas in any society are the ideas of the ruling class of that society. Canadian capitalism, as distinct from English and even more so U.S. capitalism, has no culture of its own. It is a transplant, with its roots, while thick, widespread and interlocked, lying close along the surface.

Not only has Canadian capitalism no culture of its own, as distinct from that of U.S. capitalism, but the Canadian capitalist class, its overall interests expressed by its political henchmen of the Liberal and Tory parties, sees its fate as a class inextricably tied to the fate of U.S. capitalism. Hence not only has it no means with which to restrain U.S. pressures — it has no real interests in doing so.

With U.S. capitalism continuing to expand its influence in the economic structure of Canada it is no wonder that its influence should ever more blatantly find expression in the universities. And not only through professors who come from the U.S., some of whom no doubt are not only ignorant of but also contemptuous of Canadian social questions, but through Canadian born professors whose views often unconsciously correspond to the views of the Canadian ruling class with its concept of junior partnership with the U.S. ruling class — views which could be said to denote a "colonialist mentality."

What is to be done about this "Americanization" of Canadian universities?

photo by Mintz

Ross Dowson

Professor Mathews would put the question of Canadian sovereignty in the center of the Canadian stage. He points out that should the Vietnam war end, Canadian complicity "in the undesirable foreign policies of the U.S.A. will not be ended until Canadians assert sovereignty over foreign affairs," and he adds, "Of course Canadians won't do that until they assert sovereignty over internal affairs."

When Professor Mathews says "Canadians" we assume that he means the great majority of the Canadian people, the working people who have little or no say in the ruling of the country. The ruling class, the tiny handful of capitalists who make all the key decisions from the board rooms of the banks, trusts and major corporations, through the entire state apparatus, including Trudeau's cabinet, are Canadians. They haven't sold out, they cannot be said to be carrying out an "American" policy. They are implementing a capitalist policy, a policy framed by the no means inconsequential interests of the Canadian capitalist class both here in Canada and elsewhere where they have extensive imperialist holdings.

For "Canadians" to assert their sovereignty, for the *working people* to assert their sovereignty over this country requires their taking power into their own hands. This will only be done by mobilizing around a program that expresses the needs of the working people and takes them forward in action to win the power — a program that gives nothing to anti-Americanism, nothing to any illusory concepts of national unity but is directed entirely towards uniting the workers as a class against Canadian capitalism.

Professor Mathews has made a series of proposals which in our opinion do not serve the aim he sets himself. They take the form of quotas, restrictions on foreign-born (U.S.) professors. The Waterloo report suggests that all major university posts be reserved for Canadians.

What does it mean to place sovereignty in the center of the stage — the university stage — to reverse the trend and to turn the universities into institutions to serve the working class? The universities are run by boards of governors composed of Big Business spokesmen and their hangers-on. It is their policies that resuk in the downgrading of Canadian studies. The answer on the university stage is student power — student-faculty control of the universities!

The major force advancing in the direction

→ Page

#179

page 2

Robin Mathews

of establishing the rule of the people in this country is the New Democratic Party and the trade union movement which forms its base. Any program that seeks to establish the sovereignty of the Canadian people over their affairs both internal and external must serve to strengthen the organized labor movement and the NDP in the direction of arming them for power and directing them on to the path to workers power.

Professor Mathews gave an address to a union body early in July. He was ecstatic in his identification with the assembly. The only problem is that it was the constitutional convention of the Council of Canadian Unions. This is composed of a handful of unions, mostly locals, which have raised the independence of Canadian unions from the international unions, which are the mainstream of Canadian labor, to the level of a principle. They don't in any way represent a militant tendency with a perspective of growth but attempt to sustain themselves by appealing to a hodge podge of radical and ultra conservative opinion.

In his letter above Professor Mathews interprets Hugh MacLennan's failure to respond to an appeal by his U.S. born colleagues to support the anti-Vietnam war movement as not what it would appear to be, but rather an expression of dissatisfac-

(See page 7)

U.S. control debate

(continued from page 3)

tion that Canadian activists accept U.S. terms of activism — not Canadian terms.

We are not sure as to the meaning of Mathews' reference to McGill. Does he mean the demonstration for turning McGill into a French university? We would assure Professor Mathews that the activists against Canadian complicity in Vietnam were in the forefront of the McGill français demonstration. In fact life itself has shown that Washington's genocidal war against the people of Vietnam, along with the Black struggle in the U.S., has proven instrumental in awakening ever new strata of Canadian youth who become the vanguard in the Quebec liberation struggle, in the student power actions, in the unions, and the NDP.

What Professor Mathews calls "continentalist" socialism in the Canadian Left is by no means a kind of "sentimentalism." It is internationalism — a much more profound concept than sentimentalism, than identification or solidarity with struggles of American workers that are parallel to our own struggles. Our internationalism is based on the profound understanding that our struggle can fulfill itself only through the establishment of a Socialist United States of North America. Now that the rulers of America have assumed the responsibility for the security of capitalism and imperialism on a world scale it is obvious that no victory of the working class, not to speak of one in adjoining Canada, is secure until the monster is destroyed in its own lair, by a successful socialist revolution in the United States of America itself.

With regard to the two sayings that Professor Mathews tacks onto his letter: the latter surely refers to the relations between the two capitalist states and those who assume the responsibility to defend the interests of their respective ruling classes. The political representatives of the Canadian capitalist class do not require our advice as to how to defend their interests. We can rest assured that their criminal support of U.S. agression in Vietnam, their support of NATO and NORAD, does not go unrewarded in profitable contracts of various kinds.

The first saying, which dismisses the United States of America with its 200 million population as one solid lump of reaction, is not only the stock-in-trade of the most crude anti-Americanism, but projects a perspective of utter pessimism and defeat. Of course there is that qualification that a "real" U.S. left doesn't exist. There are co-thinkers of the LSA/LSO in the U.S., the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance, not to mention other revolutionary tendencies, but of course they do not yet encompass in their ranks great masses any more than does the "real" Canadian left.

Yesterday, perhaps, on the grounds of empirical observations, there was some basis for questioning the possibilities in the U.S. But today, with the Black revolt, the rise in student radicalism (of which the Harris Poll shows "the potential . . . has not begun to be tapped,") and the anti-Vietnam war movement, which continues to rise to new heights and is now reaching right into the ranks of the U.S. armed forces, there is absolutely no grounds for such cynicism.

To dismiss the U.S. left, to dismiss the U.S. socialist revolution, is to see American capitalism, the powerhouse of world wide reaction, as remaining entrenched in its position of power. It is in reality to despair of the future of all mankind.

workers Vanguard

#180 - Aug. 25, 1969

Steel strike spreads, ranks aim at big gains

Steelworkers' union represeentatives were sent back to negotiate with the Steel Company of Canada when, by over a two to one majority, the 11,500 striking members in Hamilton turned down the company's latest offer.

Stelco's president expressed indignation that the membership rejected "the judgment of responsible union officers" and followed the advice of what he called "irresponsible and self-appointed leaders . . . dedicated to disruption."

Local 1005 President Ron Tipler and the majority of the bargaining committee had urged acceptance but a meeting of the 300 shop stewards almost unanimously urged rejection of the offer. During the vote a cavalcade of more than 20 cars drove past the polling booths urging rejection of the offer.

Union negotiators are under the added pressure of the settlement just won by 400 of some 1,400 Steelworkers and 1,000 Machinists after a three month long strike against the Iron Ore Company of Canada and the Quebec North Shore and Labrador Railway. This strike had cut off about '65 percent of the country's iron ore production.

Steelworkers who have struck the vast Inco complex in Sudbury are out to make their wages the highest in the industry. Now the Quebec members have won a wage increase which is 2.5 cents an hours higher than Inco's last offer to the union.

At midnight, on the strike deadline of August 22, it seems certain that the Steelworkers' battle lines will be reinforced by some 8,000 Steelworkers employed by the Algoma Steel Corporation at its Sault Ste. Marie and Wawa operations.

When the contract expired on August 1 the entire operation was brought to a halt as several hundred workers walked out and tied up all entrances. The company quickly imposed a lockout and fired 37 militants. Limited operations are underway but according to Ontario Labor Minister Bales the workers are not free to strike until August 27,

Hoffman
Falconbridge

Workers' Vanguard #180 - Aug. 25, 1969

Bill 33 threatens in B.C. oil strike

As we go to press, the B.C. Socred government ordered its Mediation Commission to move in on the three month old Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Union strike against the Big 6 oil companies.

The Oil Workers, fighting for a $1 hourly increase over two years, won the support of Vancouver bus drivers who refused to cross a picket line thrown around the main terminal on August 12. The crown corporation obtained an injunction prohibiting picketing of its depots by noon. Oilworkers later halted the CP ferry service between Nanaimo and Vancouver.

Labor Minister Leslie Peterson, declaring that he was not yet prepared to impose binding arbitration, threatened the situation could become tougher if progress towards settlement of the strike was not made.

union front

Police attack pickets

Amherstburg's five man police force, reinforced by over 80 members of the Ontario Provincial Police riot squad, equipped with hard hats and carrying three foot long clubs, assaulted an autoworkers' picket line around the SKI manufacturing plant.

Some 330 UAW workers, recognized some five months ago, struck the plant located near Windsor on August 4 in an attempt to win a first contract.

The police arrested 10 and injured several other strikers in their move to open the picket line at the behest of the Ford Motor Company of Detroit. Ford obtained an injunction from the Ontario Supreme Court against the union requiring it to allow the sheriff to remove tools and dies belonging to it from the struck plant.

Council prepares raid

The Toronto Building Trades Council, representing some 24 of the most powerful unions in construction, are preparing for an all-out battle.

These unions, heavily bureaucratized, with many of the characteristics of job trusts, have done little or nothing to organize workers outside the big commercial building operations, both the skilled and particularly the unskilled workers who do the dirtiest, most dangerous and hardest work in residential construction.

The opponent that they have singled out is a newly formed union which is winning support among the thousands of workers who build forms and prepare cement for poured concrete construction used extensively in apartments that are rising throughout Toronto and suburbs — the Canadian Concrete Forming Workers Union headed by Bruno Zanini.

The council threatens to stop all apartment building unless the builders agree to hire only sub-contractors contracted with locals in the council. Last month, after a nine day strike, the Canadian Concrete Forming Workers Union, which had not even been certified as bargaining agent for any of the 22 contractors that it deals with, won a three year contract which brought wages up from $160.80 a week to $245.25 by 1971.

Zanini has won the enmity of the Building Trades union brass. Last fall, over the objection of five international unions who claim jurisdiction in the field, he organized 1,600 workers for the Lathers International Union. The U.S. office of the Lathers ordered that this membership be turned over to Local 183 of the Laborers' International Union. Zanini defied the order and went independent.

Another independent, the Brick Layers and Masons Independent Union, Local No. 1—which split from the international union 4½ years ago, is also under the council's gun.

The council brass is not only counting on the big apartment builders, but also the 25,000 membership of its affiliates, in particular its 7,000 residential members, to put the blocks to the independent unions.

— Paul Kent

#180

Where does Trudeau stand now on ABM ?

by Dick Fidler

On August 6 — 24 years to the day after the atom bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki — the U.S. Senate voted 51 to 49 to approve a start on the anti-ballistic missile (ABM) system. The scheme, which involves construction of a new network of nuclear missiles around the existing intercontinental ballistic missile bases, has been widely condemned in the United States, even by prominent ruling class spokesmen, as military unjustified, morally indefensible and politically suicidal. But the Senate vote authorized the Nixon administration to begin construction of ABM bases in North Dakota and Montana, close to the Canadian border.

Canada is directly involved in this fateful decision. Not only are these Spartan and Sprint missiles designed to explode over Canadian territory, but Prime Minister Trudeau has hinted that the ABM scheme may be integrated with NORAD, the military alliance which directly links the Canadian and U.S. military establishment in North America.

Last spring, when Nixon proposed the "Safeguard" ABM project, Trudeau refused to dissociate Canada from possible participation in it. Repeated opposition demands that he condemn the scheme were met with the prime minister's offhanded suggestion that ABM might after all never become operational. The Senate go-ahead to the Safeguard scheme, backed by an 89-11 vote in principle for the ABM network, exposes the falsity of Trudeau's pretended diffidence.

Trudeau also expressed some doubt as to whether the ABM represented a step-up in the arms race.

But the ABM missiles are a clear provocation to the Soviet Union, since their primarily objective is to protect and extend the first strike capacity of the multi-megaton Intercontinental Ballistic Missiles. Nor is ABM necessarily the last stage in this deadly game of nuclear oneupmanship. The United States already has in operation the MRV — Multiple Re-entry Vehicle — which sprays warheads shotgun-like around a single target, and is testing the MIRV, a multiple-warhead missile which can hit several targets. Where will it all end?

The Senate endorsation of ABM — itself aided by Canada's failure to condemn the project — has spurred on the Strangeloves fashioning still more multiple megadeath devices.

Any lingering doubts about the provocative nature of the ABM move were recently dispelled by a most unlikely source. The Central Intelligence Agency, in a report "leaked" to the New York *Times*, concludes that the Soviet Union neither has the capacity to strike first at the U.S. missile installations the ABM is supposed to protect, nor is it seeking that capacity.

Where does Trudeau stand now? Will he join even other allies of the U.S. in condemning this dangerous new step toward nuclear armageddon? Or will he go ahead with plans to involve Canadian business and the military in contracts and the radar networks across the Canadian north which will inevitably come in its wake?

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Set by Union Labor.

Whatever happened to participatory democracy ?

by The Editors

Participatory democracy! That was the magic phrase refurbished by Liberal campaign strategists last year to describe the kind of society we would all enjoy under Pierre Trudeau. For many Canadians, fed up with the stale rhetoric and meaningless gestures of traditional capitalist politics, the catchword conjured up an attractive concept. The open society, in which all of us would be called to participate in the process of governing this country. . . Participatory democracy was to be the new politics, and its prophet was Pierre Trudeau. The electorate responded, giving the Liberals their first majority government since the 1953 election.

What has it all come to? The recent demonstrations by farmers, Indians, workers and students document the growing disillusionment with the new regime. The same old problems remain, and the new approach, the promised "style," is nowhere to be seen. Instead of an innovator, Trudeau comes off as little more than a smug, arrogant, cynical conservative, the "rich kid from Outremont."

Participatory democracy? Trudeau now tells us it was all an illusion as far as he was concerned. Interviewed by Toronto *Star* editor Peter Newman just before his recent trip to Vancouver, the prime minister declaimed: "If anybody thought it would result in some kind of plebiscitory democracy when people every day would concern themselves with what the government is doing, I never thought it would happen. And I hope it never does because a certain division of labor is necessary and because there would be a danger then of having mob rule. So in this sense, I don't think we want participatory democracy."

Strange logic! In Trudeau's view, real democracy is equivalent to . . . mob rule! Far from involving wider layers of people in the actual governing of the country, his main concern is to streamline the existing machinery, to increase the "division of labor." This can be seen even in his approach to parliament, hardly the most democratic of institutions — the muzzling of Liberal MPs, the description of the opposition as "nobodies," the use of closure to impose the guillotine rule on future debates, and now the recent announcement from the PM's office that in future there will be no more public "debates" on government policy among his cabinet ministers (as on NATO) because "such debates led more to public confusion than to public knowledge."

The trouble with democracy in the past, Trudeau told an interviewer recently, was that it wasn't "efficient" enough! And participatory democracy is, well . . . rather inefficient. Moreover, it might lead to "mob rule."

Trudeau's basic conservatism came through most clearly, perhaps, in Vancouver where, fresh from throwing a karate chop at a heckling 17-year-old in the crowd outside, he lectured a $50 a plate Liberal dinner on the evils of violence and totalitarianism.

"The problems of organizing society," he opined, "are really problems of getting men and women to agree to the social contract, which really means getting them to accept the basic premises on which the society is founded."

But it is the basic premises of this society that growing numbers of Canadians are beginning to question — like, for example, the premise that a small minority who own the wealth and rule the country should also determine the limits of "legitimate" debate. If Pierre Trudeau can't understand people who don't agree with him that this is the best of all possible worlds, that's his problem. He'll just find that fewer and fewer people are willing to listen to him.

Leon Trotsky on the struggle for a socialist Canada

by Ross Dowson

It is now 29 years this August 20 since the great mind of Leon Trotsky was destroyed by a pick axe wielded by a Stalinist agent in Mexico City. But as the tide of socialist revolution continues to rise and sweep ever wider sectors of the globe into its vortex, Trotsky inevitably begins to assume his rightful place beside the great masters of scientific socialism, Marx, Engels and Lenin.

It is his heroic presence, his inconquerable spirit, his absolute commitment to the revolution that has caused the new generation of revolutionary youth to increasingly unfurl his portrait, along with that of the martyred Che Guevara, in their demonstrations. But like Marx, Engels and Lenin, Trotsky made profound and lasting contributions to the theoretical system called Marxism — which is the common heritage of the workers of the entire world.

Marx and Engels were deprived of a real and concrete participation in the revolution which we now see unfolding before our eyes on a world scale — the often agonizing and tortuous transformation of society from capitalism to the new socialist order. But Trotsky, who collaborated with Lenin in the first giant step forward, the Russian Revolution of 1917, even more than Lenin, who died in 1923, played a key role in the working out and clarifying of the problems of this transitional epoch — the problems of our times.

Contributions

Trotsky — on Russia! It can be said without any doubt that one cannot even begin to grasp the situation, its origins and its dynamics, in the USSR and the Soviet areas today, including China, without studying Trotsky's voluminous writings on this theme.

Trotsky — on Germany! His clarion call to action is the key to grasping what fascism is and how to fight it.

His writings on France are perhaps the most illuminating ever to appear in print on revolutionary tactics and strategy.

His writings on Britain are a handbook for the victory of socialist principles over reformist misleaders such as Harold Wilson.

Trotsky stayed in America for only a period of three months. While in New York, according to two initiators of the formation of a left wing in the Socialist Party which was to gather together the founders of the Communist Party, Trotsky "talked himself into the momentary command of the American left wing."

His shorter stay in Canada was not so propitious either for Trotsky or his hosts. The ship that he had taken in order to participate in the great events that were opening up in Russia with the fall of the Czar, was intercepted on orders of the British Admiralty. Trotsky was seized and incarcerated in a converted Canadian Car and Foundry plant at Amherst, Nova Scotia, with over 800 German prisoners of war.

According to Captain F. C. Whiteman of the Canadian Army stationed there at the time, Trotsky "gave us a lot of trouble at the camp and if he had stayed there any longer . . . would have made communists of all the German prisoners." At the request of the German officers interned with the rank and file sailors and soliders, who became worried about the impact of Trotsky's work, Camp Commandant Col. A. Morris forbade all mass meetings.

Leon Trotsky

When word leaked out of his detainment, (Trotsky's protests to the new Provisional Government of Russia and to British Prime Minister Lloyd George were suppressed by Canadian officials) there were protests including mass meetings in New York. Trotsky was released to continue on to Russia. There he joined Lenin to reorient the Bolshevik party to the seizure of power, and to play a leading role with Lenin in the founding of the Third International.

Trotsky's writing and speeches in the name of the cadre gathered by Lenin were reproduced at length in the early Communist press in Canada and played an instrumental role in the education of the

→ to page 2

gathering forces of revolutionary socialism in this country.

With the isolation of the first workers state and its degeneration, Trotsky took up the struggle initiated by the dying Lenin against the growing bureaucratic caste headed by Stalin.

It was Maurice Spector, leading theoretician and publicist of the Canadian Communist Party, who with James P. Cannon, a leader of the U.S. Communist Party, smuggled out of the Soviet Union Trotsky's criticism of the new revisionism introduced by the Stalinists.

Together they made available to the world working class Trotsky's exposure of the theoretical root of Stalinist revisionism in its advocacy of "Socialism in One Country" (now assuming the guise of Peaceful Coexistence) which broke with the Leninist program of international socialist revolution. Thus the foundations for the revival of the communist movement, already falling under the dictates of the Kremlin oligarchy, were laid by the U.S. and Canadian revolutionary socialists in collaboration with Trotsky.

Shortly after, with his deportation from the USSR, Trotsky began his lengthy and intimate collaboration with his co-thinkers across the world, largely through the forces that Cannon gathered to his side in the United States, but in the closest collaboration with their co-workers in Canada.

This collaboration took place all the way from the plane of the grand strategical problems of the world revolution to the finer and most practical problems of building the revolutionary vanguard party — the essential element in the realization of the revolution.

Advised Canadians

The Canadian Trotskyists, through the signature of Spector, now joined by the founding secretary of the Communist Party Jack Macdonald, was one of the five groups across the world that signed the call for the Fourth International initiated by Trotsky. The *Vanguard* had published the earlier appeal for a Fourth International in its June 15, 1934 issue.

Trotsky followed *The Vanguard* when it was edited by Spector and Macdonald very closely, and "the excellent paper of your Ukrainian comrades *Robitnitschi Visti*." Spector's and Macdonald's signatures on the Open Letter, he told two Canadian socialists who interviewed him in Norway, "represent a great historical obligation undertaken by the Workers Party of Canada (the organizational form of the Trotskyists at that time) on behalf of the world proletariat."

In that interview, reported at length in the Feb. 1, 1936 *Vanguard*, Trotsky touched on several specific matters then perplexing Canadian revolutionary socialists — the youth, women, the farmers. Trotsky told his Canadian co-thinkers that the farmers cannot maintain an independent party because they are not a homogeneous class. If the exploited poor farmers are not connected with the workers parties they become inevitably connected with the bourgeois parties by a hierarchy at whose top sits finance capital. One must begin by explaining the problems of the farmer to the worker. It is through his work in the mass proletarian organization that the revolutionary reaches the farmer — through the workers, Trotsky emphasized, we find the way to the farmer.

Revolutionary organizations which have no special place for the youth and women he said, are not revolutionary. Above all, the women! Just as the social democracy are the aristocracy of the working class, the working women whether in home or factory, are the least paid, the most exploited — they are the pariahs. And we — we are the party of the most exploited. So we are therefore the party of women and the youth.

Among Trotsky's most important writings in his last years are two major articles on the question of the Ukraine.

National question

Trotsky developed his views on this question on the request of his Canadian cothinkers who were gravely concerned about developments in the Finnish and Ukrainian language groups here. Stalin's mass terror and judicial murders were provoking a growing wave of resentment, with many right wing tendencies developing which seemed to be travelling in the direction of nationalism and fascism. The Ukrainian Farmer Labor Temple Association had undergone a series of splits; the most promising from the point of revolutionary regroupment was the Alliance of Ukrainian Organizations (SUO).

Already in 1939 Trotsky was protesting "the outright strangulation of any kind of national development of the peoples of the USSR." In these articles he projected revolutionary secession of the Ukraine from the USSR.

Trotsky's relations with his generation of revolutionary socialists were that of a collaborator and educator of a cadre of independent thinking revolutionists. So is he, through his writings, a collaborator of the new generation of builders of the forces of the socialist revolution in this country.

#180

The socialist view

Canada and the US

The following document was adopted by the 1968 convention of the League for Socialist Action/Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière. It deals with many of the questions now being discussed in the growing debate over U.S. control of the Canadian economy, culture and political life. Presenting as it does the revolutionary socialist position on U.S.-Canadian relations, we believe it is of particular relevance to the debate on "Canadian nationalism" within the New Democratic Party.

(4 PAGES)

Relations between Canada and the United States have always been a dominant factor in Canadian politics. The British Conquest was largely motivated by the determination of the British Crown to build a military bastion on this side of the Atlantic from which it hoped to defeat the revolutionary New England states. Confederation was r ...ily carried through to overcome the immediate threat of the secession of the West to the United States or its conquest by the United States.

Today, along with the longstanding and now built-in deficit in trade relations, a decisive factor in Canada-U.S. relations has become the extent of U.S. capital investment in the Canadian economy. It is greater than the combined total of United States investment in all of Latin America and arrogates to itself political power appropriate to such a massive investment.

Coupled with this direct influence is the fact that U.S. capitalism, the last firm bulwark of world capitalism, has had thrust upon it and has seized the responsibility of sustaining capitalism as a system on an international scale — Canadian capitalism included.

Junior partner

The rising forces of the world socialist revolution, together with the declining position of all other capitalist powers and their weak position, both in absolute terms and relative to the U.S. colossus — their deteriorating position in world trade, their inability to sustain an effective military force in the era of supercostly intercontinental ballistic missiles and nuclear devices to promote and defend their own particular interests — has forced them to become, if not completely subservient, reluctant, but nonetheless compliant tools, or at best junior partners of Wall Street and its imperialist interests. This is true in the case of the biggest and most solvent capitalist powers including those where U.S. investment plays little direct role in their economy.

The dynamic of U.S. capitalism and the world situation has overcome the economically artificial division of the northern sector of the American continent by an east to west border, not by violating this border or by Canada's absorption into the U.S. as the 51st state, but through trade and investment. In fact, it serves the interests of U.S. capitalism to maintain the myth of Canadian "sovereignty and independence."

The Canadian capitalist class is a powerful, tightly integrated, highly conscious and cohesive force, firmly in control of the state apparatus which it has constructed and shaped to serve its interests. The position of the Canadian capitalist class in control of the Canadian state apparatus is not challenged by U.S. capitalist interests.

But while in control of the state, the Canadian capitalist class is by no means in control of the Canadian economy — in fact it is less in control than the rulers of any other advanced capitalist country in the world.

Who rules Canada?

The facts of the colossal weight of U.S. capital investment are unchallengeable. Its scope, its myriad points of contact and influence, no doubt exert a decisive influence on Canadian political life (as well as on its social and cultural life) and Canada's role in the world conflict between capitalism and the forces of the international socialist revolution.

Does U.S. capital dominate the Canadian economy through control of what might be described as its strategic or decisive sectors? This question has been posed in an attempt to settle the somewhat formalistic question — Does the Canadian capitalist class actually rule Canada or does the U.S. capitalist class in effect own and rule Canada?

The strategic position of U.S. capital investment in relationship to what might be called strictly Canadian capital and their relative roles

→ to page 2

Half Canada's biggest firms U.S. - controlled

The August 2 issue of the *Financial Post* contains a list of Canada's 100 largest manufacturing, resource and utility companies, ranked on the basis of sales. Separate rankings by assets and profits are also given.

The 100 biggest industrial companies account for about 41 percent of sales of all Canadian companies. Their combined earnings (profits) of over $1.6 billion account for 66 percent of the profits of all Canadian industrial, resource and utility companies. Combined assets of the 96 companies for which data are available were $33,338 million.

Of these 100 biggest firms, the Financial Post **reports, 47 are controlled from outside Canada, mostly from the United States, and there are "substantial foreign shareholdings in another six."** This represents an increase from the 45 foreign-controlled firms listed in last year's ratings.

From an analysis of the statistics in the *Financial Post* survey, it develops that these 53 companies under the control or direct influence of foreign capital account for 54 percent of total sales, 51 percent of total assets, and 55 percent of total net income (profits) of the 100 biggest companies.

The *Financial Post* notes that its "100 club" does not include Canadian firms like the giant Brascan (formerly Brazilian Traction) and Mexican Light and Power "because all their operations are outside Canada." (If included, Brascan would rank 25th in operating revenues, 9th in assets and 7th in profits.) Nor does the list include privately owned companies like the T. Eaton merchandising empire, or such wholly U.S.-owned subsidiaries as General Motors of Canada, which publishes no separate figures for its Canadian operations.

in the determination of Canadian affairs is not only difficult to assess but as we will see is largely irrelevant. If at other times there were conflicting antagonistic interests which caused the Canadian capitalist class to pursue or attempt to pursue policies that took it into real conflict with the U.S. ruling class, this is no longer the situation. It is now apparent that the Canadian capitalist class has arrived at a mutually agreeable relationship with U.S. capital in their common exploitation of the work force of this country and its vast natural resources. The rationalization of the auto industry on a continental basis is taking place with particular and carefully worked out adjustments as to the overall impact on the Canadian-U.S. economy.

Special role

Far from seeking to conquer Canadian capitalism and to assimilate Canada into the United States, the American ruling class has sensitively developed a special role for Canada in their global imperialist strategy.

Washington has made special adjustments and concessions in order to keep the Canadian economy on an even keel. It has exempted U.S. investment in Canada from complying to special regulations that would have created difficulties for the Canadian economy. It has developed a working relationship which places the preservation of Canadian imperialist investments — many of which are undoubted fronts for U.S. imperialist interests—under the protective wing of the rapacious eagle. It has even worked out plans whereby it could hope to effectively quell revolutionary developments in Canada which might imperil U.S.-Canadian capitalist interests — Operation Camelot.*

In return for these and other services, the Canadian bourgeoisie have defended all down the line the unpopular U.S. imperialist assault against the Vietnamese people, remained committed to the costly and completely militarily outmoded alliances of NATO and NORAD, and suffered the ignominy of U.S.-controlled corporations flagrantly violating Canadian law.

Thus in reality the relationship of the Canadian capitalist class vis-à-vis the U.S. capitalist class can best be described as that of partner — junior partner.

Radicalization

Ever-widening layers of the Canadian working class and petty bourgeoisie are developing an understanding and sympathy for the popular struggles developing across the globe — and they see Washington as the ruthless and bloody subverter of these struggles. An increasing number question the whole rationale of the cold war and its pacts and alliances such as NATO and NORAD — they are beginning to see the United States, and not the USSR and the workers states, as the aggressive military force that threatens mankind with a world war and possible nuclear destruction.

They see the U.S. as a violent society, a racist society, and a huckster society, reflected in the TV, radio programs, the books and the magazines that flood across the border. An increasing number are developing a concern about the flagrant violation of the law by U.S.-based corporations in this country which leads to loss of trade and, of course, jobs for Canadian workers.

These above tendencies have been designated in some circles as nationalist — Canadian nationalism. The term is a misnomer, causing confusion rather than giving insight into this phenomenon, its dynamics and direction. More correctly, it should be designated as an elemental anti-imperialist sentiment — developing towards an anti-capitalist consciousness. Because it is essentially anti-imperialist, it finds no basis of support in any sector of the Canadian capitalist class and its spokesmen, who defend U.S. imperialim not only out of a natural affinity but with a clear understanding that their fate is inextricably tied to that of the U.S. ruling class.

Nationalism in advanced capitalist countries such as Canada has traditionally been a tool of the ruling class. In 1939 the banner of national unity was raised in order to gear the nation, specifically the working class, to sacrifice their lives in an imperialist world war. It is now being raised to mobilize English-speaking Canada against the legitimate struggle of the Québécois for their national rights. This bourgeois nationalism stands in the way of a class differentiation in society — in particular, the development of class consciousness amongst the workers and, where the workers are already organized along class lines, is designed to fracture them.

Apologists for U.S. rulers

What in common with this, has the phenomenon which we can see developing across the country over the question of Canada-U.S. relations?

Far from promoting this "nationalism" the Canadian ruling class, their parties and their spokesmen, stand firmly united against it. The bourgeoisie show such unshakeable and impervious unity in their acquiesence before U.S. imperialism and its domination over Canadian internal and external affairs that they expose themselves more and more as apologists and lickspittles for the U.S. ruling class. Thus we have Prime Minister Trudeau publicly declaring that Canada can only have the relationship to the U.S. that Poland has as a satellite to the USSR, and his various ministers stating that Canada must sell military supplies for use by the U.S. in its genocidal aggression in Vietnam or suffer the gravest economic dislocation — unemployment, etc., etc.

This brand of "nationalism," far from uniting the nation behind the bourgeoisie, far from smearing over class lines, is tending to unite the

overwhelming majority of all other classes and sub-classes *against* the bourgeoisie. It is discrediting the traditional parties of the bourgeoisie as not representing any interest that could be said to be Canadian, as being in essence agents of another power — a foreign power, U.S. imperialism — whose role is increasingly becoming more clear and

→ to page 3

*Project Camelot was a Pentagon study of the revolutionary potential of certain Latin American countries, including Quebec.

WV #180 - Aug. 25, 1969

PAGE 3 of 4 08-25-6C

more hated and more feared.

In fact the traditional parties are discrediting not only themselves but the very state institutions that have been erected to cover over the real power structure. They are saying that these institutions in reality have no power that can prevail over the economic power of the U.S. ruling class.

In admitting that they are party to Canada's internal and external policy being made in Washington and Wall Street, the bourgeois parties are even performing the salutary task of undermining the parliamentary illusions of the Canadian people. They are underscoring the need for the working class to take the power and to lay down new economic foundations from which new social relations will form.

Demagogy

The bourgeoisie, of course, have not ignored this sentiment. Tory leader Diefenbaker gave it a high priority in his 1963 campaign. Although he never moved off the plain of nationalist demagogy in his high-powered bid to retain office, this lost him the confidence of every important sector of the bourgeoisie. The Liberals assigned Walter Gordon the task of encompassing this anti-imperialism, to which they gave a nationalist interpretation, within the Liberal Party, and even struck off a commission under Melville Watkins to investigate foreign investment. Both Gordon and the Watkins report have been pigeonholed.

It was this "betrayal of Canadian independence" that prompted the editors of *Canadian Dimension*, an important journal of liberal petty bourgeois opinion with considerable influence in NDP intellectual circles, to issue an appeal in 1967. It urged that the "longterm" socialist solution be put on ice in order to realize the primary task of establishing Canadian independence through a new political formation that would be "politically non-partisan and would cut across racial, regional and class lines."

The response to *Canadian Dimension's* strictly nationalist appeal — reportedly, only four elderly Tories on the Prairies wrote in — is extremely revealing. *Canadian Dimension's* appeal broke up on the reality that the sentiments to which it attempted to appeal were not nationalist but essentially anti-imperialist and therefore class sentiments in terms of Canadian political life. Nor did the Communist Party get anywhere with its crudely anti-American supra-class appeal for the construction of an anti-monopoly peoples' coalition that would encompass in its ranks those elements of the bourgeoisie who would put the interests of the nation before profits. The same goes for the Progressive Workers Movement (Maoist). It's more radical-sounding appeal proved unable to raise the process even a millimeter higher onto the first stage of its projected national liberation struggle that would encompass sections of the bourgeoisie.

Radical sentiment

This anti-imperialist sentiment is an important fact of Canadian political and social life. To accept or pin the label nationalist on it is not only to designate it incorrectly. It leads to a dismissal, if not an opposition to it. On the contrary, we must recognize the essentially radical character of this anti-imperialist sentiment and develop it.

As U.S. imperialism is driven to ever more desperate, more openly vicious lengths in its role as defender of capitalism everywhere, opposition will continue to mount. In country after country this will sharpen working class opposition to the capitalist class who identify their fate with the fate of U.S. imperialism. The working class movements will increasingly bring to the fore demands for an independent policy of opposition to U.S. imperialism. The demand for an independent foreign policy for Canada — one of solidarity with the colonial peoples' freedom struggle and trade and aid with Cuba, China and the other workers states — will become more popular.

To recognize this anti-U.S. imperialism and develop it is to concede nothing at all to any form of anti-American chauvinism. On the contrary the most effective anti-imperialist activists here have found tremendous forces right inside the U.S. with which to identify and link up their struggle. The Canadian anti-war movement has developed its most successful actions in solidarity with the much more massive anti-Vietnam war actions in the U.S. In the process it has deepened the understanding of the Canadian workers as to the character of their own bourgeoisie through its effective campaigns against the Canadian government's complicity with the U.S. in the Vietnam war.

Socialist position

It would be a tragic error to get hung up on broad abstract formulas and thus fail to make a correct assessment of the actual situation. The revolutionary socialists have successfully evaded this sectarian danger. We did not oppose the moves towards setting up Canadian unions separate, independent and apart from the so-called international unions on some abstract principle that we are internationalist and revolutionary and this was nationalist and hence reactionary. We considered that the support this had among militants was largely a reaction against the undemocratic manipulations of the trade union bureaucracy. We expressed our sympathy with this, and to those who would listen we cautioned that bureaucracy was endemic to reformist unions in our epoch and cannot be escaped merely by setting up an autonomous Canadian union (see *Power and Dilemma of the Trade Unions*). We also attempted to make an overall evaluation of the situation and concluded that there was really no significant trend in this direction, that these forces were not viable and were generally composed of conservative elements.

Nor are we indifferent to the increasing economic penetration of U.S. capital into Canada, its increasing control of the economy, and what goes with that — its determination of Canada's role in world affairs. All the less can we be indifferent in that the Canadian working class is organized in a mass reformist party and we, aspiring to establish ourselves as its vanguard, are seriously projecting the possibility of an NDP government. The concept that U.S. penetration, besides being an inevitable process, is a progressive phenomenon on the way to

→ to page 4

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FORD ASSEMBLY LINE, St. Thomas, Ont. Important auto industry is almost completely U.S.-controlled. State Department has prevented sale of Canadian-built vehicles to China. More recently, the U.S.-Canada auto pact, which supporters claimed would bring many benefits to Canadians, has failed to reduce car prices, while flooding profit margins of Big Three auto makers.

shaping up an integrated North American economy that would provide the foundation for a Socialist United States of America, is a hangover from pre-Leninist concepts of imperialism. Such "longsightedness" would bring us down in the quicksands immediately in front of us.

The Canadian economy is not only being grossly distorted, serving as a low wage sector of the U.S. economy, but it is an integral part of the latter's imperialist war machine directed at the rest of mankind which it threatens with total destruction.

Public ownership

We have advocated the public ownership of the basic means of production so that the economy can be planned and production geared to use. This is our general propaganda line — we have not worked out any list of priorities and in fact have presented this viewpoint in general, around issues of the day. In response to the curtailments of railway services and attendant layoffs we have called for the public ownership of the CPR and its fusion with the CNR. It was a matter of indifference whether the CPR was or is now basically U.S.-owned. With the closure of the Dosco coal mines we urged their nationalization along with the Sydney steel mills, and their operation in an integrated Maritimes development plan.

The issue of economic domination is already being debated, and answers are being projected. There is the proposal to "open up to Canadian stockholders, buy into American corporations": the "buy Canada back" proposition; and the proposal to establish a supplementary public sector in order to develop a more specialized competitive economy. Since U.S. branch plants include many of the key industries, there can be no serious talk of public ownership and planning without nationalization of U.S. capital interests. Without making public ownership of U.S. interests a general demand, as U.S. interests violate Canadian law by refusing to accept orders from Cuba and China, etc., the question of their nationalization increasingly comes to the fore. This is not the separating out of "bad" capitalists from "good" capitalists for "punishment" by nationalization, but popularizing the whole concept from necessity. The specific action is posed in defensive terms, which is always a good stance for the revolutionary deed.

A clear understanding of the progressive implications of this rising anti-imperialist sentiment is necessary so that we can meet the new challenges that it will pose before us — particularly in so far as, thanks to our orientation to the New Democratic Party, we are today not restricted to academic educational work but are formulating policy for forces in a movement that is speaking to the masses.

#181 Sept. 8, 1969

workers Vanguard

Socialist proposals:

Issues facing Toronto NDP

by Anne Macdonald

A convention to draft the NDP's first full-fledged municipal program, and select the party's candidates for the December election, will take place in Toronto over the September 6-7 weekend. By entering this municipal election, the NDP has accepted one of its most important challenges: that of showing the working people in Toronto that there is an alternative to big business rule at City Hall.

Concerned that the party present a clear-cut socialist alternative, the Socialist Caucus, a group of NDP activists who seek to win the party to socialism, is contributing to the convention discussion a set of programmatic outlines on what it considers the most important issues: housing, planning and transportation, education, police, taxation and the structure of municipal government.

The program projects to the municipal field the broad socialist approach which is being advocated in the federal NDP by the authors of the Manifesto for an Independent, Socialist Canada.

On housing, the Caucus focusses its proposals around implementation of the Ontario NDP convention's call for massive public housing — to make housing "a direct government responsibility from the planning and land assembly stage through to the construction and maintenance stage." It backs tenants' demands for collective bargaining rights, tenant management, tenant representation on planning boards, and security of tenure. In addition, the NDP is called upon to actively support efforts to organize tenants.

The Socialist Caucus program calls for public ownership of all municipal utilities and services such as the telephone, gas, hospitals and fire insurance. It includes demands for free transit and commuter service, elimination of tax exemptions on non-residential properties such as churches and business enterprises like the CPR's posh Royal York Hotel, and institution of a municipal capital gains tax to eliminate land speculation.

The Caucus urges the NDP to demand immediate disarming of the police and citizens' control of the police through an elected police commission.

Highlights of its proposals on education include recognition of the teachers' right to collective bargaining and strike, community use of schools for free day care nurseries and evening activities under the community's control.

#181

NDP must present a candidate for Mayor

1st

by Ross Dowson

executive secretary, League for Socialist Action/Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière

For the first time, the challenge of an NDP government in Toronto municipal office will be posed in the coming December elections. That is the meaning of the decision of the NDP Toronto Area Council and the Metro Labor Council to field a slate of aldermanic candidates and nominate them at its September 6-7 conference.

Only the election of a majority of aldermen grouped together around a common program such as the conference intends to draw up, can win the NDP the mandate — the power — to implement that program.

A slate is designed to maximize the impact of the campaign, to carry the campaign forward where the party is weakest, to tie the better-known candidates to the lesser known, to put the campaign on an issues basis, a programmatic basis, to translate what the party has shown it has in the Toronto area through provincial elections, some 33 percent of the vote in 1967, to shake out of their lethargy some 60 percent of the electorate who see no reason to even cast a ballot, and to put the NDP into office. In a few words — a slate is designed to win, to win a majority in the council who can act!

But as things are shaping up there is a grave flaw in the whole set up — a flaw which could prove fatal.

There has been no mention of presenting a mayoralty candidate. In fact there have been many clear suggestions that the party would go along with incumbent Mayor William Dennison should he again decide to run.

For some, this matter is infinitely complex as Mr. Dennison has announced that he will not make his decision known until four days after the NDP conference.

But there should be no hesitation whatsoever on the part of those unions and NDPers who are taking seriously the decision to field an aldermanic slate. The slate needs to be tied together, the strategic aim of the aldermanic campaigns clearly spelled out by the across-Metro campaign of a mayoralty candidate.

That candidate cannot be William Dennison.

While letting it be known in select circles that he holds an NDP membership, along with memberships in an assortment of status quo and retrogressive organizations, his record in his last two years of office has him on the right of the assorted Liberals and Tories who infest city hall.

It will not be enough to remain silent on his campaign. It is necessary to clear the NDP-Labor campaign of the stigma of any association with Dennison — to run a candidate for mayor. Such a decision might even cause Dennison to stand aside.

Should the September 6-7 conference fail to present a candidate for mayor, the League for Socialist Action will take such actions as to assure that the Toronto electorate will have an alternative to the Liberal and Tory candidates. If necessary the LSA will field a candidate of its own for mayor of Toronto.

workers Vanguard #181 - Sept. 8, 1969
Editor: ROSS DOWSON
Managing Editor: DICK FIDLER

Strike forges unity of Steel, Mine Mill

The thousands of Steel union strikers at International Nickel got a tremendous "lift" as they were joined by over three thousand Falconbridge Nickel miners and smeltermen on picket lines in and around the Sudbury area.

Bitter years of rivalry and hostility between members of the two unions were not allowed to stand in the way as Mine Mill men voted in favor of strike.

At huge meetings of thousands of Mine Mill members the men learned Falconbridge Nickel Company was offering two alternate proposals to prevent a strike:

1. A new 3-year contract which the Company calculated as being worth over $1.10 an hour or over $4,200 more income to the average worker; or
2. An immediate interim increase of 22.1 cents an hour retroactive for almost a full month prior to the contract expiry date, plus incremental increases; with a firm undertaking to "at least" match the settlement to be made at Inco.

"You have a choice to make. You can choose the nice easy road; the comfortable full-stomach road; the road that assures your children will have shoes and socks when they start school after Labor Day," said Bill Walsh, union consultant and spokesman for Mine Mill in negotiations, addressing the vast meetings of miners and smeltermen. "Or you can choose the hard road, the road on which the future is unsure — except that you will not be letting others fight the battles, while you hang on their backs."

"It's the tough road," he said, reminding the men they had little money in their treasury, "It's not the smart road — not the smug road of the business unionists. But it's the real union man's road."

There followed the ringing recommendation he made on behalf of the Negotiating and Executive Committees of Mine Mill: "We ask you to turn your back away from the easy comfortable road, and put your feet firmly on the hard road of strike — the road of honest class conscious workers."

The cheers of thousands of Mine Mill workers were a foretaste of the secret ballot vote the next day. The tally showed over 92 percent turning thumbs down on both company offers and in favor of immediate strike.

Picket lines were established in accordance with the union's pre-announced deadline, 8 a.m. August 21.

For the first time all the smoke stacks have stopped spewing their sulphorous pollution into long suffering Sudbury. Whether or not grass begins to grow is problematical — but clearly a new spirit is sweeping the working people of Sudbury, as labor action has halted production of 50 percent of the western world's nickel.

The strikes of Steel and Mine Mill were fittingly commemorated in a united Labor Day celebration in the historic Mine Mill Summer Camp, the first such show of strength in many a year in this northern Ontario mining city.

With their closure of the giant Algoma mills at Sault Ste. Marie, the ranks of striking steelworkers jumped another 6,700. August 27 saw the third largest Steel producer locked up tight after a series of wild cat strikes commencing early this month which had brought those working down as low as 300 in number.

workers
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Editor: ROSS DOWSON
Managing Editor: DICK FIDLER

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Set by Union Labor.

. . . Some chickens come home to roost

by The Editors

New Democrats surveying the wreckage in the wake of the British Columbia election disaster might well pose the question, What did we gain in this campaign? The negative results are all too obvious — the loss of seats, the failure to make any substantial increase in the party's share of the popular vote, to break into new sectors of support, among white collar and unorganized low-wage workers.

Worse still is the prospect of further defeats and further demoralization as Social Credit consolidates its victory over the labor movement in the months ahead.

Coming so soon after the NDP's biggest victory, in the Manitoba election June 25, the B.C. defeat — which also qualifies as the party's worst setback since its founding — will inevitably provoke a deep-going debate throughout the ranks, a debate that will bear directly and heavily on the wider discussion in the federal NDP over the socialist road for the Seventies.

The traditional right wing leadership will have considerable difficulty in rationalizing this defeat. As they saw it, they had everything going for them: a superb organization, a new attractive leader, an aging opponent with a dismal record on all the major social issues, disarray in the other opposition parties, and the recent inspiring victory in Manitoba. Their campaign was a textbook example of NDP electoral strategy. And what did it all come to? Organization, it seems, is not enough . . .

(See page 2)

. . . B.C. election

(continued from page 1)

Insofar as they have expressed any views on what went wrong, the leadership attributes the defeat to Premier W. A. C. Bennett's "red scare," the "unfavorable image" of the NDP-labor tie, and the ignorance of the voters.

A serious analysis must go much further, however. As Phil Courneyeur notes in the article above, the NDP debacle can only be explained in the light of the general atmosphere of capitulation and backtracking which has characterized the B.C. labor leadership's reaction to the Socred government's anti-labor offensive. In no other province is the labor tie so crucial to the NDP's success, and in no other province has labor so lamentably failed the test of leadership.

When Bill 33 was introduced, the B.C. Federation of Labor leaders loudly denounced it, but did almost nothing to forestall its passage. Since then, one after another, they have left labor's ranks to take jobs on the mediation commission or tribunal established under the bill.

Characteristically, the labor leaders appealed to the government with the argument that Bill 33 wouldn't work. Of course, it did work — infamously. The club of compulsory arbitration poised over virtually any and all labor conflicts has served as a powerful reinforcement to the brass's natural tendency to capitulate before the bosses. The result of "living with Bill 33" has been a deepening atmosphere of defeat and impotence in labor ranks.

Instead of linking the campaign for an NDP government in Victoria with a strategy of on-the-job action and mobilization of the ranks to defeat Bill 33 and roll back the anti-labor drive, the B.C. Fed brass tried to substitute the election of an NDP government as an *alternative* to a militant strategy. But inevitably — for the party leaders share the same political attitudes — the NDP campaign simply reproduced this capitulatory strategy on the political level. As a result the party could not escape the deadening identification with a sell-out leadership in the unions. Its slogan Ready to Govern was unconvincing to many potential supporters who had already lost confidence in the labor leadership's readiness to lead.

In this sense, the election demonstrates the fallacy of treating electoral action purely as an alternative for defeats at the negotiating table and on the picket line.

But there is a more general lesson to be learned from the B.C. experience. The election results are a defeat not so much because the NDP failed to win the election, but because it comes out of this experience with nothing new to build on. It cannot be said that as a result of this election experience — which presented such a powerful opportunity to present the socialist alternative to the broad masses of the province's working people — the electorate is left with any greater understanding of the case for socialism. Instead, everything was done by the NDP leadership to make it appear that the differences between the big business government and the NDP were in fact minimal — that the New Democrats would simply administer things more efficiently, and perhaps a little more humanely. The system itself would remain intact.

It is not that a radical or revolutionary program would necessarily have brought victory where reformism failed. But a socialist program, based on demands linked to the actual struggles of the workers would mean that win, lose or draw in the ballotting the party would in all likelihood have come out of the campaign with renewed cadres, a new appreciation of its tasks, and a vigorous determination to continue the struggle. Instead, it can truthfully be said that not only has reformism failed to point the way to electoral victory; in defeat, it has left a legacy of demoralization throughout the ranks.

The only way to overcome this atmosphere and set the NDP back on the road to power is to reorient the party and the entire labor movement toward a strategy of class struggle socialism.

workers Vanguard #181 - Sept. 8, 1969

Socialists start Que. monthly

"A great leap forward for the workers' cause in Quebec." That's how the editors of the revolutionary socialist newspaper, *La Lutte Ouvrière*, describe the appearance this month of the first issue of their new monthly journal.

La Lutte began in October 1964 as a more or less bi-monthly mimeographed discussion bulletin in the Quebec left. Since then it has steadily improved its appearance, regularity and circulation. The monthly tabloid is the latest stage in this expansion.

The contents of the September issue indicate its scope and value as a reporter, educator and instrument of the struggle for "a free, socialist Quebec." There are feature articles on the anti-bureaucratic struggle for socialist democracy in Czechoslovakia, and on the movement for French unilingualism in Quebec and the opposition of René Lévesque and his Parti Québécois to this important demand. An editorial statement (reproduced in this issue of the *Vanguard*) protests the police state measures being introduced by the Quebec government to suppress left-wing dissent. Three articles analyze the issues involved in the negotiations with Quebec's 62,000 teachers and 84,000 hospital workers, and the recent strike by 12,000 construction workers.

(See page 8)

(continued from page 1)

In their introductory statement of purpose, the editors of *La Lutte Ouvrière* attribute the development of the new monthly above all to the rise of the world revolutionary forces in recent years, and its echoes in Canada and Quebec, with the radicalization among the students, the development of a powerful Québécois nationalist movement and the growing militancy in the working class and trade unions.

"For us," they declare, "the workers struggle ("la lutte ouvrière") is the fundamental force capable of changing Quebec, of creating the socialist society. For this reason its struggle is essential to the liberation of the whole Quebec nation and the victory of student power. It is more and more clear that the present government in Quebec represents only the bosses; as shown by its full-scale anti-labor offensive. It must be replaced by a workers and farmers government, and to do that, we must create a *labor party* in Quebec.

"We are going to promote the participation of the workers in the nationalist movement, to explain the link between the exploitation of the workers and the super-exploitation of the entire nation. At the same time, we will demonstrate that only the taking of power by the working class and its allies will permit a real national freedom . . ."

Stressing the importance of the international class struggle, the editors note that "*La Lutte Ouvrière* is the only paper in Quebec to both support the heroic struggle of the Vietnamese and call for the creation of a powerful movement against this imperialist war." As part of their close links with "the revolutionary combatants around the world organized in the Fourth International," they "maintain a special liaison with the revolutionary twice-monthly newspaper in English Canada, the *Workers Vanguard*," and "will often reproduce its articles."

"Finally," they add, "*La Lutte* will contribute to the Quebec struggle the teachings of the international socialist movement, by means of articles on Marxist theory, explaining it and reproducing important theoretical documents.

The subscription price for the new monthly is one dollar for 12 issues. Write to *La Lutte Ouvrière*, 226 est, rue Ste-Catherine, Montréal 129, Québec.

La Lutte Ouvrière expands to monthly

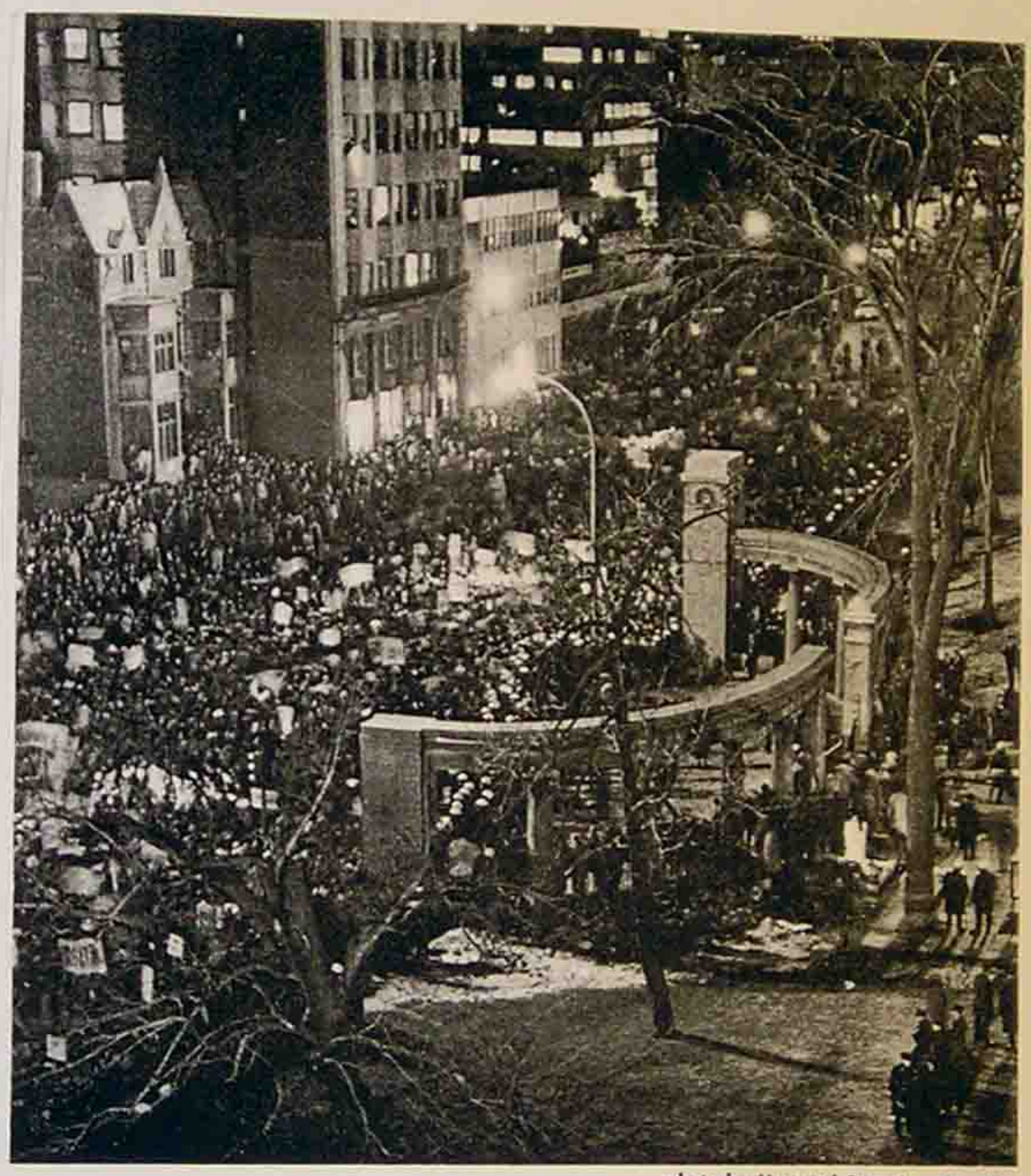

photo by Montreal Star Canada wide

STRUGGLE FOR A FRENCH QUEBEC. Classes resumed in Quebec last week amid growing demands that government make French the language of instruction in all the schools. Above, thousands of young French Canadians marched on McGill University last spring to demand that it be made a French university serving the Québécois majority. Demand for a French Quebec challenges right of foreign capital to exploit Québécois labor and resources.

#182

NDP defaults

Toronto LSA will contest mayoralty

Ross Dowson

SEPTEMBER 16 — "We are entering a candidate for the highest post in civic office, for mayor, in the coming Toronto elections," said Ross Dowson, executive secretary of the League for Socialist Action/Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière, to the press today.

"Should the New Democratic Party fail to fill out the aldermanic slate, we will make every effort to do so, and thus assure the electorate the opportunity to cast two labor votes in each ward and elect a labor administration. Should the NDP fail to measure up in the Board of Education campaign, the youth associated with the LSA — the Young Socialists — are considering entering candidates."

Dowson's announcement came exactly one week following the Metro Toronto NDP-Labor Council convention. This meeting though organized to launch for the first time in the party's history an across-Metro slate, ended up without a mayoralty candidate, with only 13 nominees for the 22 aldermanic posts, and a highly equivocal position on a Board of Education slate.

"Without a mayoralty candidate, there is nothing to tie the NDP's other nominees together into a slate; it is only a list, and at this stage, unless some of the ward organizations intervene, a sparse one at that. The League aims to pull the campaigns together with its mayoralty candidate and present a socialist alternative to the working people of Toronto," Dowson said.

Efforts of a sizeable core of NDPers to win the conference to present a mayoralty candidate were frustrated by the labor brass threatening to blow it up if it violated its "deal" with the council's Political Education Committee. The deal was to not challenge incumbent Mayor William Dennison.

Dowson pointed out: "The leadership can scarcely present Dennison, with his miserable performance over the past three years of deepening housing crisis and increased taxes, as representing labor in any way, particularly when he himself has opportunistically refused to run on the NDP ticket and chief party spokesman (Reid Scott) has declared: 'The only candidates who will be supported by the party are the ones who run as New Democrats.'"

Dowson, who has himself posed the labor alternative to the Liberal and Tory machines in several previous mayoralty campaigns that he contested, stated that the League will nominate its mayoralty candidate very shortly. "We intend to call a conference open to all union militants and socialists at which the candidate will be chosen. We intend to make this the biggest electoral effort yet for a labor administration, linking together all the forces rising across the city who want to replace Big Business rule through their Liberal and Tory machines with a working class administration."

#182

Failure to fill out slate assailed at NDP meet

by Anne Macdonald

TORONTO — The municipal NDP convention here September 6-7 equipped the party with a good program for the December 1 elections. But the campaign threatens already to be little more than a half-hearted effort. Nominations came up with only half the aldermanic candidates needed for a full slate (13 of 22), no board of education candidates, and worst of all, no candidate for mayor.

The failure to nominate a full slate is not only a violation of the decision made at a Metro-wide convention last spring; more seriously, it cuts across the party's ability to use the campaign as an effective means of extending the firm base already built up amongst the working people of Toronto.

Over 200 members of the NDP and labor council affiliates participated in nine workshops to hammer out their platform on issues ranging from housing to pollution, from education to police.

Almost all workshops amended the position papers submitted by pre-convention committees to take much more radical stands. Many of these positions as adopted incorporate proposals put forth by the Socialist Caucus pamphlet which was distributed to all delegates.

The draft paper on housing, for example, did not even commit the NDP to a program of public housing. It now reads, however, ". . . the New Democratic Party . . . will immediately undertake the construction of a large-scale public housing program:

"1) Such housing to be planned by the neighborhood and city;

"2) Will include recreation and day-care centers;

"3) To be managed by occupants;

"4) Rent at not more than 20 percent of occupier's income;

"5) Where necessary, expropriation of vacant or under-used land now held for speculation."

Private developers will be obliged to enable the community to provide day-care centers and other community facilities.

The convention also urged recognition and support for all tenants associations and their aims of collective bargaining, security of tenure and appropriate changes in the provincial Landlord and Tenant Act.

The taxation workshop endorsed demands from the floor for a capital gains tax on speculative gain and a shift of the tax burden to industry and business.

The workshop on police demanded the election of the now-appointed police commission, the disarming of police (with the explicit exception, for some unknown reason, of the tactical squad — which is used against strikes and demonstrations!), and a community-composed appeal board.

The report from the education workshop included such demands as student and teacher control of the curriculum and community use of the schools. Most important, it recommended reconsideration by the Joint Council, composed of party and labor representatives, of an earlier decision not to contest Board of Education posts. This recommendation was overwhelmingly endorsed by the plenary session; however, the Joint Council has not yet acted on it.

Several other workshop reports were not approved by the plenary session because of lack of time.

The most important challenge to the official line came when the report from the workshop on Party Politics failed to recommend that a mayoralty candidate be run on the party label against that undercover NDP member, incumbent Mayor William Dennison. Regula Modlich, secretary of the St. George NDP, charged that "Dennison's recent positions represent everything the party wants to cure at City Hall." She stressed the necessity that the city-wide aldermanic and board of education list of candidates have "a head, a focus," in the form of an NDP mayoralty candidate who would "tie the slate together and make it meaningful to the average voter as a serious challenge for power at City Hall."

The chairman, Labor Council president Don Montgomery, backed by Toronto NDP Area Council chairman Reid Scott, declared that the convention had no right to decide this important matter — that "only the joint council" was "the correct body to make the decision, and that the purpose of this convention was to carry out its decisions."

When Dierdre Bekerman pressed the issue to a vote, Montgomery blackmailed the convention with the threat that labor would withdraw its support (which includes a $70,000 contribution to the campaign) should the convention vote to challenge Dennison. Even then, about one-third of the delegates voted to support an NDP mayoralty candidate.

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Managing Editor: DICK FIDLER

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Set by Union Labor.

Where is Schreyer's government heading?

by The Editors

The announcement by Manitoba's NDP government that medicare fees will be cut by 88 percent, effective November 1, means that all Manitobans will enjoy comprehensive health care, including hospitalization, at some of the lowest rates in North America. The new premiums of $99.60 a year for families and $49.80 for single persons contrast very favorably, for example, with the Ontario Tory government's recent deal with private insurance companies which will provide less coverage at three times the cost of Manitoba's plan.

The Manitoba announcement more than fulfills the NDP's campaign pledge last June that, if elected, it would reduce medicare premiums by at least 50 percent. (Health Minister Sid Green) says the premium reduction will be financed with a tax "consistent with the people's ability to pay." Hopefully, this means the government will tax high incomes and corporation profits, and not invoke inequitable measures such as a sales tax which violate the egalitarian principle that adequate health care at minimal cost is everyone's right.

Disturbing

The progressive decision to cut medicare fees was welcome news to many New Democrats, who are concerned at the developing direction of the government headed by Ed Schreyer. Since the NDP victory on June 25, Schreyer and his colleagues have been making strenuous efforts to reassure the "business community," that is, the capitalist interests who exploit the labor and resources of Manitoba, that they have nothing to fear from the New Democratic government.

These repeated assurances, which form a continuing theme of post-election publicity — both in the daily press and in statements by government and NDP officials — are particularly alarming because they are accompanied by disturbing indications that the new government is willing to postpone or sacrifice even modest reforms if necessary to placate big business.

The legislative program outlined at the opening of the current session was larded with fine proposals to increase the minimum wage and workmen's compensation benefits, reduce the voting age to 18, give Indians representation on school boards, and reform legislature procedures. Other more important measures, however, lacked teeth to make them meaningful, and some proposals even represented a clear retreat from previous NDP commitments.

Auto Insurance

During the campaign, for example, Schreyer had suggested he would implement the NDP program of nationalizing the auto insurance industry. The throne speech, without rejecting nationalization, left the question open by proposing an investigation. "This," reports Jack Cahill of the *Toronto Star*, "fits in with reports from Manitoba businessmen who say Schreyer promised them in private conversation he would consider leaving the automobile insurance industry alone provided it reduced its premium rates by about 10 percent." Schreyer himself told the editors of the *Winnipeg Tribune* just after his election that "I'd like to see the private firms carry on."

The throne speech was notable for other omissions. It did not suggest any change in Manitoba's reactionary labor laws, not even the banning of ex parte injunctions. It promised "increased effectiveness" for the Landlord and Tenant Act, but did not indicate if this meant guaranteeing tenants security of tenure and the right of collective bargaining through legally recognized tenants associations. The speech promised increased grants to cities, but made no moves toward initiating the massive public housing that is so desperately needed. It promised a Consumer's Protection Act and consumer's protection bureau with detailed powers, none of which touched on the key requirement: to open corporation books to reveal the real source of inflationary price rises.

Conservative

While the speech was being read inside the legislature, students from the University of Manitoba picketed outside, protesting recent statements by Schreyer that he prefers an expanded system of repayable loans to abolition of tuition fees, and attacking student power militants "who would try to overturn our present society's values."

Schreyer's basically conservative orientation came through clearly in his interview with the *Winnipeg Tribune* editors, as he described his government's priorities. "What we hope to do first is to improve the image (of Manitoba) in terms of economic reality," he assured these spokesmen for big business. Or when he told businessmen at a Kiwanis club meeting druing the campaign that "there is no difference in kind, only in degree" between the NDP and the Liberal-Tory parties.

Schreyer notwithstanding, there certainly is a fundamental difference between the NDP and the big business parties. The problem is that this difference — the working class base of the party — is not reflected in the NDP's program, still less in the legislative intentions of the Schreyer government which admittedly seeks nothing more than a modest patching up of the system's more conspicuous sores.

Challenge

But if the NDP leadership is reconciled to capitalism, it is no less true that growing numbers of Canadians are becoming disillusioned with it — and they are expressing their dissent through tenants associations, farm unions, the student movement, the anti-war movement, and the trade unions. It is these people who put the NDP in power in Manitoba, and it is they, not the businessmen, whom Schreyer should be reassuring.

What is needed is a program of far-reaching measures which clearly present the NDP as a government of the working people — and point the way to the socialist solution to the growing problems of capitalist society.

The cut in medicare fees is a good, if rather modest, start. Now let's make sure it's only the beginning.

workers Vanguard

#183 - Oct. 6, 1969

Unity deepens in Sudbury strikes

United Steelworkers union negotiators with profit-bloated International Nickel have now, without consultation with the 17,200 workers who struck the giant Sudbury operations back on July 10, spelled out their demands.

Negotiations opened without a specific wage demand. But there were strong statements from the leadership that they were out to make Sudbury wages the highest in the industry. No commitments were made as to contract duration. However continued inflation has increased pressure across the union movement to reject long term contracts.

But according to unchallenged reports in the daily press the steel leadership has cut its demands to something like 96 cents an hour over a three year contract.

With the Port Colborne refinery which employs 1,700 closed down, some 70 percent of International Nickel's production has been stopped. The big Thompson Lake project, operating at full blast, has so far played no role in the union's side of the negotiations.

Morale is high in the Sudbury area. There the feeling of union solidarity between the steelworkers and the 3,000 miners and smeltermen who have struck the Falconbridge Nickel operations continues to widen and deepen. They are members of the Sudbury Mine Mill and Smelters Workers Local 598 which held out from the Mine Mill and Steel fusion.

Last week over 500 who jammed a rousing meeting unanimously passed a motion dissolving the Nickel Belt Labor Club which had been orginally set up to protect the union's properties from Steel. They roundly denounced a core of former members, who are so disoriented and have become so disgruntled over the improved relations between Steel and Local 598 as to commit a rotten strikebreaking action. With the aid of the courts they got a caution against 598's properties. This has blocked the local, which is in tightening financial straits, from taking out loans on the strength of the property's value.

The Canadian strike has been strengthened by a strike of some 800 Welsh workers employed by International Nickel at its refinery in Clydach. The men, who are members of the Transport and General Workers Union, have just rejected an offer of a 19 percent pay increase. A group of California student militants expressed their solidarity with the Canadian strikers through a demonstration at a businessmen's conference which featured a top International Nickel official. Falconbridge, which announced the biggest profits in its history over the first six months of this year, has a big refinery in Norway which works ore from its Canadian operations. Both of these international nickel corporations are making a temporary killing from the tightening shortage of nickel. In the London market the normal price of a long ton has soared from $2,500 to $12,000 plus.

— Paul Kent

VIVE LE QUEBEC LIBRE
THE SOCIALIST VIEWPOINT
STATEMENT OF THE LSA-LSO
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statement of the League for Socialist Action / La Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière

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The Status of Women in Canada

LSA/LSO brief to the Royal Commission

10 cents

Set by Union Labor.

Canada in the '70s - potential vs. reality

by The Editors

"Living standards may rise 35% by '75," the newspaper headlines proclaimed. They were describing the main conclusion of the sixth annual report of the Economical Council of Canada, released on September 15. The Council's projections for Canada's economic growth in the next six years glowed with optimism; with a potential increase in production of 50 percent by 1975, Canada "could surge ahead faster than any other industrialized nation."

The key word, however, is "potential." The ECC report took great pains to emphasize that its conclusions were only projections, and *not* a forecast of what would actually happen. These projections were simply direct extensions of the highest average growth rate over the last few years which — thanks to the Vietnam war — have been years of exceptional expansion for capitalism.

How well founded was the ECC's optimism? Only three days before the report's release, it was reported that leading private economists predict that the economy's rate of expansion will have declined to an annual rate of only 2 or 2.5 percent by the end of this year, compared with a rate of 10.4 percent in the fourth quarter of last year.

What does this decline do to the Council's hopes that unemployment can be reduced from 5 to 3 percent, and that consumer prices will not rise more than 1.6 percent a year between 1967 and '75? In fact, consumer prices rose 2.8 percent in 1967, 4 percent in '68, and are rising at over 5 percent this year. The ECC says a housing crisis is "possible." But it's already upon us!

As for reducing unemployment, the businessmen were somewhat skeptical. They're far more worried about high prices — which, if they continue to escalate, threaten to price Canada out of the world market. The businessmen's solution is clear; it was summed up neatly by panelists at a recent meeting of the Toronto Society of Financial Analysts, the Bay Street professionals. "We need a recession," they said — to increase unemployment, depress wages and investment and, so the theory goes, push down prices.

The government is actively pursuing this strategy through civil service layoffs and other stringent restrictions in fiscal policy. Trudeau and his ministers have no intention of heeding the Economic Council's advice to relax these restrictions at this time.

Since capitalist countries all over the world face similar difficulties and anticipate similar measures to activate what they hope will be no more than a small recession, the prospect may well be in fact a generalized extended recession in the 1970s, greater in scope than anything in the postwar period.

What, then, does this do to the ECC's basic assumption, on which it bases all the others — that Canada's export market will remain strong? A general decline in world trade could be disastrous for Canada, one of the world's biggest trading nations.

The Economic Council of Canada's projections for the future make an interesting contrast with the reality outlined by investment dealers and market analysts. Ironically, the Council is right when it describes the potential before us. It confirms that we have the resources, the manpower, the technology and the desire to meet and even surpass all the Council's hopes. But, as current economic facts indicate, it will be nothing more than a *potential* — a dream — until we have broken out of the capitalist sector of the world, and linked our economy with that of the nations now building socialism. This is the *socialist* projection for the future.

Special to new readers

workers Vanguard

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Set by Union Labor.

#183

No retreat before the redbaiters !

by The Editors

The Independent Socialist Canada document is having a much broader impact on the NDP than it would at first appear.

Despite the fact that it presents a general socialist viewpoint in frontal opposition to the liberal reformist policy of the top leadership, not to speak of the latter's often outrageous, even blatantly reactionary public utterances, so far they have managed to pretend what can only be described as a policy of studied disdain for the document and its supporters.

Federal leader T. C. Douglas, in an interview on the various position papers that are being circulated preparatory to the convention, took advantage of the opportunity to take a swipe at public ownership. He scored any "program of wholesale nationalization" as making "little sense in the modern world" and nationalization as such as a "fairly clumsy tool." Of course it is the Independent Socialist Canada document that has once again raised the whole question of public ownership, along with workers control.

Ontario leader Donald MacDonald, while recognizing the existence of the ISC document, gave it the cold shoulder treatment. He expressed disappointment that it contained nothing new or original, inferring that all it amounted to was that "old socialist crap" which the leadership had definitively and irrevocably routed so many times before in the NDP and before that in the CCF.

But it was Douglas Fisher and Harry Crowe — the former MP and rumored contender for party leader, and the newly appointed university head whose first act of office was to slander student radicals — who launched, through their column in the Tory Toronto *Telegram*, what may become the main line of attack on the ISC forces.

Of course Fisher and Crowe didn't take up the ISC document either. They set up a straw man, unidentified individuals who support the "Watkins Manifesto" and who had solicited their support for it.

Not once, not twice, but three times they identify the positions that they allege are the views of the ISC with what they allege to be the views of Leon Trotsky and Trotskyism. They even drag in the fact that the *Vanguard* reproduced the statement in a recent issue — as if there were something particularly sinister about that.

And to top it off they insidiously plant the idea that the supporters of the document constitute a party within the party — the grounds that the right wing has traditionally used to isolate and expel their socialist opponents. They carry this off by utilizing the shyster technique of assuring us that "Nor is this one more attempt to create a party within the party."

This type of attack has two purposes — to set up within the party an atmosphere of suspicion as to the motives of the ISC forces, and to intimidate them from aggressively and confidently advancing the positions they have already formulated, and from further developing them.

The disgraceful events at the Vancouver gathering of ISC supporters, reported elsewhere on this page, have all the earmarks of what was for the whole McCarthyite period the unfortunately all too frequent response to such redbaiting attacks as Fisher's and Crowe's. Conway, if he did not know the temper of the crowd at the beginning knew it when the chair was challenged. Nonetheless he proceeded to smash the meeting.

Accuse others of constituting a party within the party, and clear yourself of the charge. Attack the Trotskyists, and clear yourself of the charge of Trotskyism.

Alas, this retreat before redbaiting has never succeeded in calling off the redbaiters — whose appetite becomes only greater through eating.

Were this to spread through the ISC (fortunately only Conway of the prominent signatories of the document attended that meeting) it would result in the complete destruction of the ISC. For to serve its function the ISC group must follow wherever the truth should lead it. Yes, and that even includes to Trotskyism — Marxism of our epoch.

Anti-war protests escalate; next mobilization Nov. 15!

See page 3

workers Vanguard

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LSA nominates Toronto slate page 8

Platform of the NDP's left wing page 6

Why Montreal exploded

by Dick Fidler

"If France had its May revolt, Montreal had its October terror."

That's how one Montreal daily, *La Presse*, described its own reaction to the day the cops copped out. On Tuesday, October 7, Montreal's 3,800 police and 2,400 firemen, at wit's end over their failure to win back wage parity with Toronto, stopped work and headed for Paul Sauvé arena for a "study session."

By the time they went back to work early the next morning, 800 troops just back from "peacekeeping" duties in Cyprus, were patrolling the city's streets, together with 700 provincial police and 77 RCMP — and merchants in the English section of town were faced with an estimated two million dollars damage from looting and arson.

It was the first time the army had been called out in a Canadian city since the Winnipeg General Strike of 1919.

TRUDEAU'S NEW ACTION ARMY? Soldiers with fixed bayonets, specially trained in counter-insurgency tactics, stand guard at Montreal's city hall. Outbreaks of violence during strike by police and firemen revealed depth of social discontent in Quebec. These troops from French-speaking Royal 22nd Regiment, the "Van Doos," are now being labelled "vendus" (sold out) by young Québécois.

Explosion

What happened in Montreal on October 7 was a social explosion resulting from the sudden release of collective frustrations. Above all, the frustration of the French Canadian youth, who are swarming onto the labor market from overcrowded schools and colleges to compete for jobs that are increasingly scarce or, where available, in English . . . in their national homeland, Quebec. Their growing revolt has been held in check only by the naked force of the state, in the first place its police.

On Oct. 7, that force temporarily vanished from the streets, and thousands of these youth took advantage of its absence to vent their anger on suitable targets — the Murray Hill taxi monopoly, Birk's, Eaton's, McGill University, radio stations, the expensive hotels, and many other examples or symbols of English Canadian capitalist repression. For the most part, French establishments were spared, with the notable exception of Mayor Jean Drapeau's swank new restaurant. (This was enough to make the protection of City Hall a top priority for the incoming soldiers.) What may have upset the establishment most was the looting of several gun stores.

Police protest

Equally revealing, however, was the behavior of the police. Imagine the shock of the powers-that-be in Montreal, Quebec and Ottawa to discover these guardians of law and order — among the most sophisticated in North America in the tactics of harassing and breaking up popular protests — themselves protesting!

And what a protest! Eyewitness reports told of how all 17 police stations emptied "within minutes" once the call to gather at the Sauvé arena had gone out over the police radios. The streets around the arena were clogged with hundreds of police cars, while inside, thousands of cops — most still in uniforms, their guns at their sides — shouted invective at the city authorities and even threatened to march on city hall.

When panic-stricken authorities sent in the Quebec Provincial Police to restore order, "Montreal's finest" emulated the tactics of the young radical demonstrators they've so often been used to suppress. Flying squads, encountering QPP cars, overturned them or commandeered them for their own use. Some provincials were beaten up. Using the radios of seven provincial police cars they had seized, the Montreal cops succeeded in jamming radio communications for all the others.

The mayor must have been particularly galled by the policemen's most popular chant, one that he had heard hitherto only from leftist demonstrators: "Drapeau au poteau" — Drapeau to the stake.

(See page 2)

PAGE 3

workers Vanguard #184 Oct. 20, 1969

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Set by Union Labor.

Montreal events show instability of system

(continued from page 1)

Asked his opinion of what was happening in Montreal, a worried Prime Minister Trudeau said society had run "amok." Parti Québécois leader René Lévesque, equally shocked, excelled everyone in the national assembly in attacking the strike, attributing it to the "immaturity and irresponsibility" of the police union leaders who, admittedly, had lost control of their rank and file. Quebec Liberal spokesman Claude Wagner, former attorney-general, said the Montreal events proved that Quebec stands on the "verge of revolution" and added: "There is discontent in all strata of society and this discontent is only beginning to be expressed in a violent way."

Reporters conducting man-in-the-street interviews were hardpressed to find anyone who opposed the policemen's wage demands. Many people related the explosion of discontent to the whole crisis of Quebec society, and even international factors. A quite typical response the next day was "The violence wasn't so bad . . . in Vietnam it's much worse. This was just a prelude to what not only Quebec but the whole of America will soon be going through . . . (The police work stoppage) was only a secondary cause of the riot here yesterday." One reporter remarked how many people spoke calmly of a "revolutionary" atmosphere existing in Quebec.

The Union Nationale government reacted to the crisis as if indeed a revolution were in the works. Soon after the army had been sent in, emergency legislation was being unanimously passed in the legislature putting all police in the 56 municipalities in the Montreal area under the direct supervision for at least 30 days of QPP director Maurice St-Pierre. The police and firemen were ordered to return to work or face fines of $50,000 or a year in prison. The government even considered postponing the byelections scheduled for the next day.

Three days later, when the Front de Libération Populaire called a protest march on City Hall, the authorities were so jittery that they mobilized the biggest police force ever — an estimated 4,000 cops backed by the army — to confront . . . 600 demonstrators.

Fragility

The Montreal events of October 7 and the ruling class reaction to them revealed the fragility of the capitalist order when its repressive apparatus breaks down, especially in a society like Quebec, riddled with profound social contradictions. Lawlessness it may have been in Montreal that day and night, but even the most undisciplined protests — the looting and the arson — were directed at targets fraught with political significance. The attempt of the Drapeau-Saulnier administration to blame the Company of Young Canadians for the violence only serves to show how devoid the authorities are of any explanation of, let alone solution for, the underlying causes of the explosive discontent.

On a slightly lesser scale of things, the Montreal incidents revealed afresh the volatile nature of Quebec's public service sector. These workers have been the main victims of the federal and provincial governments' austerity programs; but, thanks to their relatively high degree of unionization, they are in a good position to fight back. In this instance, the Montreal cops' demand for wage parity with Toronto cops was enough to trigger a political crisis of the first order.

Pacification

Finally, there is the very revealing fact that, unable to rely on its police, the government called in the troops. These 800 soldiers — it could have been many more — are among the forces, the Royal 22nd Regiment, that the Trudeau government has been training around the world for use as "peacekeepers." A high army official was quoted in the Montreal *Gazette* as saying that their withdrawal from the city was delayed for five and a half days after the police had returned to work, in order to familiarize them with Montreal!

Writing in the Toronto *Star* of October 15, Professor James Eayrs of the University of Toronto notes that "the deployment in Montreal of the armed forces of Canada, first in place of the civil power, later . . . in aid of it, is more evidence that internal war is becoming the military's primary mission."

Montreal this month was the first instance of the army's new internal "peacekeeping" role in action in Canada. But it was only the beginning.

Workers' Vanguard #184 – Oct. 20, 1969

Meeting called to fight postal rates

Over the name of William Dodge, secretary treasurer of the Canadian Labor Congress, and chairman of the Committee for Fair Postal Rates, a conference has been called to assemble in Ottawa November 12-13.

The 14 sponsoring organizations, which range from the Boy Scouts of Canada to the Canadian Industrial Editors Association, will work out plans to win back second class mailing rights for publications of non-profit organizations.

The appeal notes the new postal rates imposed early this year by the Liberal government "are effectively stifling free communication in a democratic society by pricing the periodicals of non-profit organizations out of the market."

The federal government's actions deprived at one swoop about 3,000 periodicals of their second class mailing rights, and the number continues to widen. The *Young Socialist Forum,* although previously granted second class mailing rights, was deprived of them last week. Many publications have reduced the periodicity of their appearance and others have ceased publication entirely because of what in some cases amounted to an increase in their postal bill by 3,000 per cent.

Oil workers

The oil workers' strike continues. B.C.'s Bill 33 "Mediation Commission" brought down a scandalous, company tailored recommendation for a 15 percent pay raise over two years. The oil cartels promptly accepted the proposal, but the oil workers overwhelmingly rejected it.

Since the 550 oil workers' rejection, the OCAWU leadership have scaled down their wage demands — but the oil monopolies are not only refusing to negotiate, they are threatening to jack up the price of gas!

The ball is now passed back to Attorney-General Peterson and the Bennett cabinet. They now can order the workers back to work under Section 18 and 19 of Bill 33 and make the Mediation Commission report binding.

Will the government act? Will the oil workers obey? Will the B.C. Federation of Labor leadership stand by its pledge to defend, to the degree necessary, any union victimized by Bill 33 — or will it continue its retreat?

In order to combat the present vicious legislation and to defeat future legislation re labor courts and right to work laws, the BCFL must now confront the question of mobilizing the rank-and-file to defy Bill 33.

by R.H.

union front

Dangerous pledge

OCTOBER 16—The several week old strike of the B.C. longshoremen is at a critical juncture. Federal Labor Minister Mackasey is poised on the brink of driving the 3,200 members of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) back to work without a contract and with a settlement worked out by others thrust upon them.

All the grounds for the government to impose compulsory arbitration have been laid—in agreement with the union leadership. After agreeing to a 24-hour day, 7-day week, continuous operations and increased company control on the waterfront, before negotiations were seriously underway — the leadership pledged to the federal government that the union would load grain. On the day the strike began the government announced a 135 million dollar wheat sale to China.

The union brass thought their pledge a smart move — good public relations, even some form of farmer-labor unity.

The Trudeau government sought the ILWU leadership's pledge for both long and short range purposes. The long range aim of the bosses and their government agents is to hamstring labor. Trudeau has some immediate interests. He is worried about the deterioration of the Liberal party's support among the Western farmers, and at this time instead of a showdown seeks an operational relationship with the labor brass.

The B.C. Maritime Employers' Association doesn't at all mind a further decline of Liberal party influence in the Prairies and is bent on taking every advantage of the agreement of the labor brass to load wheat in order to force them to load everything else.

The BCMEA has launched a massive campaign for the loading of *all* goods "of importance to the national economy." They argue that lumber is just as important as wheat to the national economy (let alone the B.C. economy.) They call for federal legislation "comparable to B.C.'s Bill 33 which can send disputants to binding arbitration where the public interest is jeopardized."

The wheat vs. lumber debate has enabled provincial cabinet ministers Campbell and Skillings to wade into the question of the lumber industry with the implication that the government will have to use Bill 33 against the Woodworkers when their contract expires next June.

Tommy Douglas and other NDP MPs from B.C. endorsed the government decision to move the wheat, re-enforcing the government claim that "essentials must move."

The labor movement can ill-afford to have its most effective weapon, the right to strike, subjected to the caprice of boss governments — federal or provincial. The ranks of the ILWU must repudiate this deal.

Leaflets are legal

Picketing, demonstrating and distributing leaflets on shopping plazas does not constitute trespassing, as plaza owners and tenants, with the aid of the police, have long been claiming and enforcing. Judge J. D. Ord has ruled to this effect in an Ontario provincial court.

This valuable legal precedent was established by a group of unionists who, when urging persons at a shopping mall to boycott California grapes, were arrested and charged with trespassing under Ontario's Petty Trespass Act. The judge ruled that picketing, when it is done on property over which the owners have given up exclusive possession, as in the area of a plaza common to all tenants, is not unlawful. He dismissed the charge against UAW Local 1285 President James Arthur Peters.

This should lead to the challenging of similar attempts of landlords to frustrate democracy by barring leafleting of apartments.

by P.K.

workers Vanguard #184 - Oct. 20, 1969

Resolutions at NDP convention

Left spells out program

by Anne Macdonald

Six resolutions formed the basis of the discussion workshops at the recent Toronto seminar of supporters of the manifesto For an Independent Socialist Canada.

These resolutions, to be presented to the federal NDP convention in Winnipeg this month, together constitute a far-reaching challenge to the positions long upheld by the party's present leadership. Many of them go considerably further than the ISC Manifesto in elaborating the socialist alternative.

The resolutions were drawn up by study committees under the leadership of the main authors of the manifesto.

Foreign policy

The resolution on foreign policy correctly notes as a "premise" that "no international peace is possible in a world dominated by imperialism and monopoly capitalism." Among its demands are: an end to sales of arms and strategic resources to the U.S. and its allies; withdrawal from NATO, NORAD and the International Control Commission, and rejection of the OAS and similar alliances; the maintenance of normal diplomatic and economic relations with nations threatened by U.S. imperialism; denunciation and complete dissociation from the U.S. Vietnam policy; denunciation of the Soviet aggression in Czechoslovakia (the workship added support of socialist democracy for which the Czechs were striving); diplomatic, military, economic, and moral support to national liberation movements; an end to what the resolution terms "Canada's role as a neo-colonial power" in the "third world," and its substitution by a concept of foreign aid that would enable neo-colonial countries "to expropriate private Canadian property on their soil." The conference workshop removed a section calling for transformation of the Canadian army into a "peacekeeping" force.

Foreign ownership

Another major resolution, on foreign ownership, does not in fact go further than the approach originally projected in the manifesto. However, the specific measures outlined here would, if implemented, open the door to a basic reorientation of the Canadian economy away from imperialist domination and toward a planned socialist economy based on public ownership of the key sectors.

These measures range from full disclosure of financial data of both U.S. and Canadian firms to "selective nationalization of foreign-owned firms in the leading sectors of the economy." They include demands for a government export trade agency, the prohibition of foreign ownership in key sectors through legislation and public ownership, the immediate creation of a Canada Development Corporation with full government ownership and control, and "the creation of crown corporations in new industries which would otherwise come under foreign control."

Although the resolution does not say so, these demands would inevitably pose the question of public ownership of Canadian-owned monopolies, too. One criticism is in order, however: while the resolution expresses a clear understanding that the only solution to foreign ownership lies in nationalization, its preamble simply describes "an independent economy" as the "ultimate goal" and states that the "immediate necessity is to support policies that compel foreign-based corporations to perform in the Canadian public interest."

Extraparliamentary action

An excellent resolution deals with extraparliamentary action.

The resolution describes "labor organization and community organizing" as "a priority" in a new "activist strategy."

"The NDP must be the vitalizing center which gives these various social forces a common perspective, a sense of solidarity, and an organization for united action," it states. "The NDP must become the political expression of the most powerful anticapitalist forces for social change."

The resolution also rejects the new left concept of "participatory democracy" which is usually presented as an alternative to independent working class political action. While it "exposes the limitations of purely electoral democracy," the resolution states, participatory democracy "fails to come to grips with the reality of class conflict which liberals deny.

". . . Victory is achieved through confrontation rather than 'participation.' Participation rests on the illusion of an ultimate community of interests; confrontation challenges the belief that dialogue can solve all conflicts."

Workers' control

The resolution on workers' control applies this class struggle perspective to the struggle for "substantial control by workers over the direction and operation of their enterprises." Under legislative action, the resolution poses a series of demands to increase union autonomy and free them from repressive state intervention: guarantee of the right to strike, picket and boycott; rejection of compulsory arbitration and injunctions; outlawing of scabbing and other forms of strike breaking. In addition, the resolution calls for legislation giving unions access to all company information on key policy decisions; complete workers' control over discipline and union certification pro-

→ to page 2

#184

page 2

cedures.

The resolution also calls for "active party support" for present and future union demands for:

—control over the number and deployment of personnel, the organization of work, hiring, firing, and shift schedules, and election of supervisors;

—control over work load, speed of machinery, all conditions affecting safety and health hazards;

—substantial power in decisions about the nature of the product (based on its social use), the allocation of profits, reinvestment policies, decisions on expansion, shutdown and relocation.

Universities

A resolution on universities analyses the role of the public educational system "in preserving continental capitalism." It proposes a different orientation: "Those who are working for an independent, socialist society must insist that Canadian universities remain sensitive to Canadian needs and support the radicalization of university structures and content."

It advances a series of demands based on the principle of community control of the university, including abolition of tuition fees, a salary for students, special consideration to minority groups and an end to discrimination against women and on account of political views. The resolution calls for an end to campus war research and for the extension of research facilities free of charge to "tenants' association, trade unions, cooperatives and other similar groups. . ."

The resolution on Quebec marks an advance over the manifesto in that it calls on English Canadian socialists to "support the right of Quebec to self-determination." Without endorsing French unilingualism, it notes that "bilingualism as now practised is leading to the progressive weakening of the French language and culture in Quebec." It condemns the "alliance of the present federal government with American-dominated business" as the major threat to "French Canadian survival."

However the resolution falls short of projecting unconditional support of Quebec's struggle for self-determination *up to and including separation* if necessary. It places much emphasis on the importance of English Canadian socialists finding an alliance with Quebec socialists, and concludes: "Only such a bi-national alliance can lead to socialism and independence for both nations."

By itself, this formulation is inadequate. Does it mean that Québécois socialists should subordinate the independent dynamic of their struggle to a similar attempt at "unity" with English Canadian socialists?

The main task in Quebec today is to build a mass socialist party capable of expressing the unique needs of the Québécois working class. The construction of such a party will proceed from the unfettered development of the nationalist struggle, which today centers around the fight to defend the French language. Until the NDP adopts a more sympathetic stance toward Québécois nationalism, Quebec socialists are unlikely to feel any need to ally with the English-Canadian labor party.

Others

In addition to these six resolutions, at least one more — on women's liberation and the NDP — is being prepared for presentation to the convention.

If these resolutions are debated on the convention floor — and the right wing will be hard put to exclude them — the resulting discussion and votes are certain to make Winnipeg a watershed in the history of the NDP and the struggle to win the party to a socialist program.

Lewis attacks manifesto

In the October 6 issue of the *Vanguard*, we reported a speech by Stephen Lewis, Ontario MPP, in which he attempted to belittle the challenge that the Independent Socialist Canada manifesto presents to the NDP right wing leadership.

A much different — and ominous — response to the manifesto has come from David Lewis, the NDP's deputy leader in the house of commons. The elder Lewis took the occasion of a meeting of York South riding association on October 6 to launch a vicious attack on the manifesto and its authors. The document's "rhetoric" was offensive, he said; its terminology "old hat" from the thirties; and the answer it proposed for foreign control of the economy — nationalization — was "irrelevant" to socialists of today.

The manifesto's support of self-determination for Quebec, Lewis claimed, would only encourage Quebec's separation from Canada. The "rabidly anti-American tone" of the manifesto, he said was "not justified." Lewis said he was more concerned about "Soviet imperialism" than the power of the United States.

When several people in the meeting challenged Lewis' assessment of the document, he lost his cool completely and personally attacked the authors of the document as irresponsible and ignorant. In discussion after the meeting, Lewis red-baited supporters of the manifesto with the claim that "Trotskyists" were responsible for much of the push behind it.

Newspaper columnists Douglas Fisher and Harry Crowe — who only weeks before had dismissed the manifesto with the claim that it would not receive the support of more than 20 delegates at Winnipeg — greeted Lewis' attack as "an indicator that it is now recognized that they (partisans of the manifesto) are powerful enough to be taken with great seriousness."

workers Vanguard
#185 - Nov. 3, 1969

Discord over Steel contract

by Paul Kent

Although the leadership of the Hamilton Steelworkers Local 1005 won membership approval for its recommendation that they accept Steel Company of Canada's latest offer, it is one week after the vote and the contract has yet to be signed.

Instead, the union leadership has been caught up in a series of hassles with officials of the giant steel corporation on the sweeping series of measures that they are instituting through the plant to put the screws on the workers and squeeze increased production out of them. Discontent is so high that it threatens to blow up the entire deal. If a vote was taken now, instead of 5,442 being for and 3,467 against the contract offer, it would probably be the reverse, and the strike would still be on.

The company's offer was presented to the union ranks by local president Ron Tipler as the best ever negotiated by the United Steelworkers of America. He claimed that it was 8 to 9 cents an hour higher than the August offer which was rejected by a two to one vote. He still held to his position that the August offer had been a good one — "this is better". On the other hand he described the Stelco bosses as very hard negotiators and threatened the membership that rejection of this offer would result in at least another three months of strike.

Having plugged for a yes vote in August, the Tipler leadership was in a poor position to oppose the new offer even if it had desired to do so. The negotiating committee, which was split over the August offer, endorsed this offer. The 300-man stewards body urged rejection but the only substantial form that this opposition took was the distribution of a leaflet in the name of some "responsible members and stewards" which contrasted the union's original "just and fair" demands with the new offer. The contrasts were damning. For instance: "We asked for $1.40 over 2 years, why a $1.20 over 3 years? We asked for an increase based on the cost of living over 2 years, why disguise a 3 cent raise as a cost of living clause?"

What the Tipler leadership presented as the best ever, doesn't look so good on closer examination. The true take home value of the settlement is considerably muddied by the so-called impact costs of the higher rates on the company's overtime and holiday costs. Through double-talk and juggling Stelco dropped two cents from a technological change fund and another 1½ cents on the welfare funds by deleting one benefit. It also reduced its liability on cost-of-living increases — in effect the escalator clause demand was dumped. Thus the new contract is only about 4 cents an hour, instead of 8 or even 9 that Tipler claimed, over the August offer.

In the face of the company's all-out assault on shop conditions which range from increased numbers having to go on shift work, having to work over weekends and to suffer split days off, union negotiators have admitted that they had conceded the issue of split days off because they didn't think the company would increase this unpopular practice.

These contract negotiations put the new Tipler leadership to the test. They cannot claim that the membership were unwilling to struggle. The daily press has noted with astonishment the absence of any serious back-to-work sentiments. They have been found wanting. Now they have to meet the company's assault on shop conditions. If they prove incapable of responding to this challenge there is no doubt that a new leadership will begin to come to the fore in the massive Hamilton Stelco local.

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Set by Union Labor.

Trudeau rips off mask in anti-Quebec rage

by The Editors

Trudeau's vicious attacks on Quebec are clear evidence of the alarm among Canada's rulers over the growing social ferment and protest in Quebec.

The militant strike struggles — and the sensational social explosion of October 7 when Montreal police and firemen staged a one-day strike — have highlighted the revolutionary potential manifesting itself among the working masses. The mass actions for French as the language of instruction in the schools inevitably puts into question the domination of Quebec's business and industry by an arrogant handful of Anglo-American corporations.

Leading spokesmen for the Montreal, Quebec City and Ottawa governments have attempted to pin the blame for the unrest on "consiprators" and "extremists" who have "infiltrated" the governments' own institutions. The CYC is to be subjected to a witchhunt, the CBC is threatened with trusteeship, while the moderate and middle-class Parti Québécois is charged with being riddled with subversives.

Gone completely is the "progressive" image on which Trudeau campaigned for election. In place of the rhetoric of "participatory democracy" is the iron fist of a thoroughly reactionary government.

Gone are the fine words about free exchange of ideas. Trudeau has declared that ideas which do not promote "a strong and united Canada" will not be expressed on the CBC, and has threatened to put the defense minister in charge of the CBC French network.

The attack on the Company of Young Canadians is sheer hypocrisy. From the government's point of view, the CYC was a great success. It succeeded in using government money to lure a significant number of young people committed to social change into essentially harmless and meaningless projects posing no threat to the system — and in the process contributed mightily to the breakup of an independent radical youth movement, the Student Union for Peace Action.

If in Quebec this attempt did not succeed completely, that is a tribute to the higher degree of explosiveness in the situation,. and not at all to the efforts of "outside agitators," "trained in foreign countries."

With this as a background, the tirade of Anthony Malcolm of the "Canada Committee" against the Quebec left is a page straight out of the McCarthy era. The hysteria of the bourgeoisie is revealed by the fact that his speech, which made no newsworthy revelations, was top news throughout their media, and by the fact that he spoke for a committee whose list of directors is a who's who of the Montreal big business elite.

CBC, CYC, PQ, FLQ — all are only stand-ins for the real target of governmental attacks — the growing movement for national and social liberation in Quebec. The verbal attack on the CYC was followed up with a brutal wave of some thirty raids in Montreal on the "citizens committees" which have emerged as a core of resistance to the Drapeau regime. The leaders of the massive movement for French instruction in schools are charged with sedition — punishable with up to life imprisonment.

But this hysteria of the capitalist class and their agents is proving powerless to turn back the mounting movement of the Québécois. The week of October 27-31 is seeing an explosion of popular protest against the anti-Quebec offensive of the ruling class centered on the demand for French language.

Behind the hysteria of Trudeau, Bertrand, Drapeau and co., lies their abject servility to Anglo-Canadian-American capital and its obviousness to rapidly increasing numbers from all layers of Quebec society.

The Quebecois are not sitting back passively before their attacks. Nor can the radical and labor movement in English Canada. The present crisis challenges everyone to respond in solidarity with the elementary demands of the Quebecois and in full and active solidarity with the mass protests now underway in Quebec.

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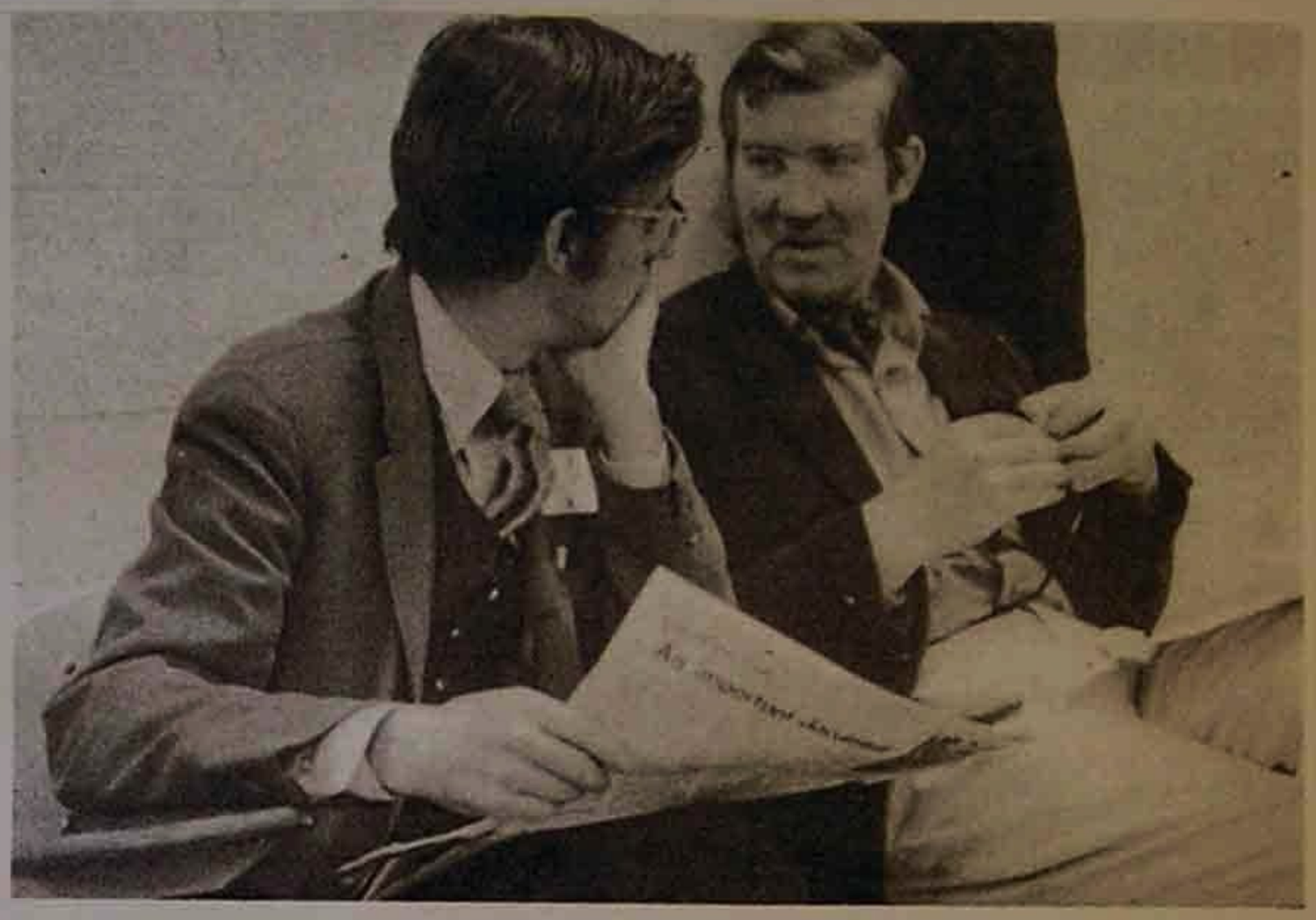
Who's to lead party posed by NDP debate



MELVILLE WATKINS, leading spokesman for the Independent Socialist Canada forces in the New Democratic Party, discusses with Hugh Winsor

by Anne Macdonald

The document For an Independent Socialist Canada (often referred to as the Watkins manifesto after one of its authors, Melville Watkins) has presented a real challenge to the leadership of the New Democratic Party.

Starting from a reaction against the enormous power and influence of U.S. imperialism on the Canadian economy, culture and politics, the manifesto develops an analysis which, whatever its weaknesses — and there are some major weaknesses which we have discussed elsewhere — leads directly to basic socialist conclusions.

The necessity for massive public ownership, breaking from the U.S. alliance system, self-determination for Quebec, extra-parliamentary action and workers' control — all these concepts have been raised and are being discussed, in some cases for the first time, in the NDP around this document. They pose a serious challenge to the liberal reformist program of the right wing all down the line.

Signed by an impressive list of prominent NDP members, the manifesto has won wide support among the ranks of the party wherever it has been debated. Contrary to what some NDP officials are suggesting, it is clear that most of the document's rank and file supporters consider it to be not just a "basis for discussion," but a projection of a radically new direction for the party, away from make-capitalism-work panaceas and towards socialism — a fundamental change in this society. Because of this, the Watkins manifesto will dominate the convention debates at Winnipeg.

The present NDP leadership, whether based in the trade unions or the party apparatus and parliament, sharply oppose such a perspective. They are basically satisfied with the present system, which they consider better than any conceivable alternative. At most, they seek only to reform capitalism, not abolish it.

Their outlook has dominated the party. This is why there has not been a real effort to build socialist consciousness or to see the NDP as part of a broad socialist movement going beyond the confines of the parliamentary ritual or the electoral routine. That's also why right-wing resolutions often get railroaded through at conventions, and why more radical proposals, when passed, are totally ignored by the leadership. (For example, the federal founding convention resolution against NATO, or the 1968 Ontario convention resolution for a vast program of public housing, or the resolutions at all levels opposing all injunctions and restrictive labor legislation.)

How will this right wing deal with the socialist concepts of the manifesto? Unable to present a plausible counter-analysis of their own, they may well try to minimize the document's impact. They will slur over the obvious differences, renouncing the "socialist rhetoric" while pretending to agree with what they choose to treat as the most important concrete proposals. It is not excluded that they will try to use the club of party "unity" — on their terms of course — to coerce the dissidents into "compromise" formulas which take the guts out of the manifesto's socialism. Many right wingers will redbait the document and its supporters.

Thus, the challenge before the left is not to be intimidated or diverted by these scare tactics. The left must establish its right — and its responsibility — to operate within the party with the conscious aim of winning the NDP to socialism.

Whatever its outcome, Winnipeg must be seen as the beginning of this struggle. A major task coming out of the convention will be to launch a continuing left formation to carry on sustained educational work in the NDP ranks through establishment of a national newsletter, speakers' tours, mobilizations and campaigns around key issues confronting the party. The socialist viewpoint must be carried beyond the riding associations and narrow academic circles, into the trade unions and onto the campuses — the main arenas of present and future radicalization.

Since the manifesto supporters themselves hold differing conceptions of what socialism means — the manifesto is certainly not without its own ambiguities, open-ended formulations and equivocations — the discussion as it continues must aim at clarifying the nature of the socialist alternative. Such a discussion must be conducted within the framework of common acceptance of an anticapitalist outlook.

Nor must the discussion limit itself to winning support for a socialist program. In the last analysis, the struggle for socialism in the NDP is a struggle for the leadership of the party. We must avoid the fatal weakness of the left in the British Labor party, which never built an alternative leadership independent of the opportunists and careerists of the parliamentary party — and paid the price with Harold Wilson, himself a one-time "left."

This is the great responsibility facing the sponsors and supporters of the Watkins manifesto. The appearance of this document, and the discussion arising from it, have presented the NDP with unprecedented opportunities to reorient itself — toward the goal of a socialist Canada in a socialist world. A serious, conscious and consistent pursuit of that goal both at Winnipeg and after it, will launch us on the path toward making this more than a goal — a reality.

Workers' Vanguard #185 - Nov. 3, 1969

The socialist viewpoint on the debate

Canada and U.S. relations

Canada-U.S. Relations, A Socialist Viewpoint, issued by Vanguard Publications, 334 Queen St. W., Toronto, 30 cents.

Powerful factors have propelled the question of Canada-U.S. relations into the center of attention of the Canadian left — the alarm at the increasingly evident degree of U.S. control of Canadian life, and above all the growing understanding of what U.S. control means, what U.S. imperialism means, so clearly revealed in Vietnam.

The unique value of *Canada-U.S. Relations, A Socialist Viewpoint,* is its integration of the struggle to free Canada from the grip of U.S. imperialism into a rounded class-struggle socialist perspective.

Many radicals have satisfied themselves with simplistic formulae such as that Canada is merely a colony of the U.S. with no native capitalist establishment. The main document of the pamphlet, a convention resolution of the League for Socialist Action-Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière, comes to grips with the contradiction between U.S. control and the existence of a forceful Canadian capitalism.

"The Canadian capitalist class is a powerful, tightly integrated, highly conscious and cohesive force," the document states, "firmly in control of the state apparatus which it has constructed and shaped to serve its interests. . . But while in control of the state, it is by no means in control of the Canadian economy.

"It is now apparent that the Canadian capitalist class has arrived at a mutually agreeable relationship with U.S. capital in their common exploitation of the work force of this country and its vast natural resources. . . Its relationship can best be described as that of partner — junior partner."

The LSA-LSO document maintains that the opposition that is developing across the country to U.S. control is in no way similar to the old-style nationalism of a Diefenbaker or a Trudeau — rather it is anti-imperialist sentiment that finds no support in any sector of the Canadian capitalist class. "This brand of 'nationalism' is tending to unite the overwhelming majority of all other classes and sub-classes against the Canadian bourgeoisie." Anti-imperialist sentiment becomes anti-capitalist sentiment, class consciousness. The increasing obvious necessity of nationalization of U.S. monopolies immediately raises the need to take over their Canadian counterparts.

A unique feature of the pamphlet is a series of essays from the *Workers Vanguard* which analyze every major aspect of the debate as it has developed over the past three years. From the *Canadian Dimension* "Open Letter" through the "Watkins Report" up to the recent revelations on Americanization of the universities, each facet is dealt with and every position on the question clearly analyzed.

It analyzes the failure of various attempts to build a pure and simple "nationalist" movement embracing all social classes. The failure of *Canadian Dimension's* appeal to Canadian nationalists, published in 1967, is analyzed as proof that there is no objective base for opposition to U.S. imperialism save in the social layers already in motion against Canadian capitalism.

Many radical opponents of U.S. domination have been perplexed by the phenomenon of the Québec liberation movement — some even calling on the Québécois to call off their national liberation struggle in order to join in a pan-Canadian united front against U.S. influence. If, as *Canada-U.S. Relations* maintains, the struggle against U.S. domination must turn against the Canadian capitalists and their apparatus in Ottawa, the dilemma finds an easy solution — English and French-Canadian revolutionaries can ally in a parallel struggle against the pan-Canadian capitalist state.

Canada-U.S. Relations takes issue with those on the left who concede to anti-U.S. sentiment becoming chauvinist antagonism to the American people. "The most effective anti-imperialist activists here have found tremendous forces right inside the U.S. with which to identify and link up their struggle. . . To dismiss the U.S. left, to dismiss the U.S. socialist revolution . . . is in reality to despair of the future of all mankind."

The growth of opposition to U.S. imperialist domination has given an important new impetus to the development of the Canadian left. *Canada-U.S. Relations* firmly grounds this phenomenon on a class analysis of Canadian society and an internationalist outlook, and provides the theoretical framework necessary for anti-imperialist sentiment to lead towards victory for socialism in this country.

Canadian aid in Vietnam

"As far as Vietnam is concerned, (Canadian aid) is designed to prop up the corrupt and unpopular Saigon administration," writes Claire Culhane, former administrator of a Canadian hospital in Vietnam, in the Oct. 11 *Weekend* magazine.

Her testimony should smash any illusions that the Canada of Trudeau and Stanfield can work within the western alliance as friend of the world's impoverished peoples.

She reports on how one Canadian hospital in Vietnam was handed over to the army as a military base, and the patients sent "packing home (What home?) while the bombs are falling."

"We use another $570,000 of foreign aid money for 'aid to refugees' to construct housing units in the Saigon suburb of Minh Mang . . . Only government officials can afford these high rents."

"How then can we really help the Vietnamese people?" she asks. Her demand — send official aid to north Vietnam, and send medical and surgical supplies where they are most needed, to the resistance movement building the underground hospitals and organizing the mobile teams going into the jungles.

workers Vanguard #185 - Nov. 3, 1969

CP restores its record

The Central Committee of the Communist party of Canada has publicly dissociated itfrom the report of a top-level party delegation that visited the Ukraine in the spring of 1967 and came back frankly admitting the existence of outrageous violations of the Ukrainian nation's democratic and national rights. After some delay, the report was finally published in early 1968 in the official organ of the Central Executive Committee, the party's top administrative body.

A terse statement in the October 15 issue of the CP's national weekly *The Canadian Tribune* says "the Central Committee withdraws the report of the party delegation to the Ukraine as an official document of the party" and "decides to undertake a thoroughgoing review of that report, including a discussion on the national question, with the aim of deepening our Marxist-Leninist understanding of the national question and proletarian internationalism, and strengthening the unity of the party."

The report of the delegation to the Ukraine, which included long-time Stalinists like national leader Tim Buck, powerfully reinforced the growing doubts about the Ukrainian question among the party's rank and file, in particular its block of Ukrainian-Canadian supporters. Its demoralizing impact was deepened a few months later by the Kremlin invasion of Czechoslovakia, which tore a considerable number of activists out of the party and revealed a temporary schism between the abject supporters of the Moscow line in the CC majority and the more critically-minded CEC based in Toronto.

In withdrawing the embarrassing Ukraine report, the Central Committee has now dealt it the same fate it meted out to the CEC's criticism of the Czech invasion. It has once again wiped the slate clean of any criticism of Moscow's policies.

For the Canadian CP, the national rights of the Ukrainians, like the Czechoslovaks, take a poor second to defending the arrogant big-nation privileges of the Kremlin bureaucrats. This may "strengthen party unity" — what's left of it — but it is hardly "proletarian internationalism."

A cartoon by Laura Gray, staff cartoonist for many years for the U.S. socialist weekly, The Militant. Laura Gray's work appeared frequently in the Vanguard and its predecessor, Labor Challenge.

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#186

Bosses, Steel brass pressure strikers

by Paul Kent

NOV. 9 — The heat's on the 17,200 miners and smelter workers who struck the giant Inco operations at Sudbury and Port Colborne and the 3,200 who struck the Falconbridge operations in Sudbury last August, to drastically scale down their demands and settle on the companies' terms.

The Inco workers organized in the United Steelworkers and the Falconbridge workers in the independent Mine Mill and Smelter Workers Local 598 have withstood the pressures built up by a long strike, last month's settlement with the Steel Company of Canada, and then the Algoma settlement. Now they have been hit by a strikebreaking decision of the president of the United States.

On November 7 Nixon released 9 million pounds of nickel from the stockpile held for the U.S. Mint and for war contractors which amounts to some 140 million pounds. Inco's and Falconbridge's giant operations supply nearly 60 percent of the West's nickel, which was in short supply before the strike and has now reached crisis proportions. Nixon's action, particularly if it is only a beginning serves to strengthen these profit bloated corporations' holdout against the workers demands.

The Steelworkers settlement with Stelco last month, which has been estimated to be only four cents over the rejected August offer, was carried by Local 1005's leadership in the face of the opposition of the 300 man stewards' body and a vote of 3,467 against, 5442 for. The Algoma Steel Company quickly attempted to impose the Stelco settlement as a pattern on its 6,700 employees.

The return of 37 workers who had been fired for leading a wildcat when the old agreement expired, 27 days before the official strike, was not negotiated. But settlement got snagged on a demand by a majority of the negotiating committee that foremen who have worked themselves into management from the bargaining unit must lose their seniority rights. Some 700 foremen continued to work in the plant during the nine week strike. The membership decisively rejected the Stelco pattern interlocked with the issue of foremen's seniority. But under the pressure of national director William Mahoney a second ballot was held which saw a slim majority of 268 votes carrying acceptance.

Now the heat is being concentrated on the Sudbury strikers. At the opening of negotiations with Inco the Steel leadership proclaimed that they were going to make Inco wages the highest in basic industry. But having endorsed the settlement at Stelco and openly intervening to assure its acceptance by the Soo workers they have prepared all the grounds for imposing on the Inco workers acceptance of any offer within the general Stelco pattern. Inco has made such an offer. Confronted with firm opposition to any recommendation of acceptance from the Port Colborne representatives on the negotiating committee, the brass have broken the unity of the negotiations and decided to take this offer to the Sudbury membership early this coming week. They anticipate that five months of strike and the approach of winter will swing an acceptance vote.

There is no doubt widespread opposition to the offer in the Sudbury ranks, its three year term, the fact that it gives nothing to the demand for an escalator clause and the smallness of the wage offer in the face of continued inflation. Added to this is the fact that the picket line Captain's body of the 3,200 man Sudbury Falconbridge local has just decisively rejected substantially the same offer. This latter development is testimony of the militancy of the Sudbury workers' for Mine Mill Local 598 is an isolated local with limited resources which must by now be badly strained. The action of the Port Colborne Steelworkers and Sudbury Local 598 may well prove sufficient to block the plans of the steel brass and force the companies to increase their offers.

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Set by Union Labor.

The challenge facing socialists in the NDP

by The Editors

The development of a broad continuing left wing in the New Democratic Party has opened up important new perspectives and challenges before Canadian socialists.

It is the first major response within the party to the developing radicalization in the country as a whole. The roots of this radicalization are to be found not only in the growing revulsion against U.S. monopoly domination of the Canadian economy and culture, but even more in the deepening impact on Canadians, particularly the student youth, of the rising revolutionary ferment highlighted by developments in Vietnam, France, Czechoslovakia . . . and Quebec.

This radicalization is only in its initial stages in Canada. As it continues and deepens, extending into the workng class, it will develop powerful forces within the trade unions and the NDP seeking fundamentally anticapitalist — revolutionary — solutions. Once again, the socialists have an opportunity to move out from the relative obscurity of a propaganda group to take the leadership of a mass movement for radical social change. We must seek to win the majority of the working class elements in the NDP to the program of revolutionary socialism — around a class struggle strategy capable of linking labor's immediate demands to the struggle for the revolutionary transformation of this society.

Will the NDP as such become the revolutionary instrument that is necessary to emancipate Canadian workers from capitalist exploitation? All the evidence is against such an outcome.

The Trotskyists of the League for Socialist Action/Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière see the NDP as above all a crucial vehicle to break the working class from its political subservience to capitalist parties and politics. It is through the NDP that the political development of the class will be expressed for an entire period to come.

But principles and programs, not organizational forms, are decisive in politics. And if it was inevitable, as we have always maintained, that the party would reflect the growing radicalization, it is no less true that the right wing leadership of the NDP is utterly incapable of meeting the revolutionary challenges now posed before us.

Wedded to their liberal-reformist make-capitalism-work concepts, they have no intention of respecting or implementing even the limited proposals for public ownership or breaking with the U.S. military alliance structure that were supported by the recent federal convention. Andrew Brewin's statement that he will resign as NDP foreign affairs critic in parliament rather than defend the convention's opposition to NATO, bears this out.

Like social democrats everywhere, the NDP leadership are the sworn enemies of radical social change. Under the impact of the revolutionary upheavals to come in this country, as elsewhere, their reformist program and strategy, from simply expressing the present lack of class consciousness among the workers will become a serious obstacle to the forward movement of the class.

A new vehicle will be necessary — a revolutionary socialist party. Hence the crucial significance of the development of a mass left in the NDP. It is in this struggle to win the NDP to socialism that the necessary cadres for the coming Canadian socialist revolution will be forged.

A very healthy aspect of the recent convention was the deep distrust of the present leadership that pervaded all elements in the broad left. Even T. C. Douglas, whom many in the party had falsely thought to be to the left of the rest of the leadership, was widely criticized when he unexpectedly intervened in the manifestos debate with a red-baiting attack on the left.

With this necessary preliminary clarification, the main discussion now is within the left of the party. This discussion must be open to all viewpoints on the left. The degree to which it succeeds in clarifying and settling the major questions will determine whether the new opportunities now before us can be fully realized. The victory of socialism in Canada depends on it.

workers Vanguard November 17, 1969 #186

Arab revolutionists at Vanguard Forum

"The Palestinian revolutionaries know their struggles will be long and difficult, but they have the support of the whole Palestinian people, and are confident of victory and the liberation of their homeland."

This was the theme of the address of a past president of the Canadian Arab Federation, special guest speaker at the Toronto Vanguard Forum Oct. 31.

The speaker discussed how the Palestinian revolutionaries, while seeing their struggle as of pan-Arabic scope, had established their independence of reactionary Arab governments. Al Fatah and the other revolutionary groups have a clearly defined and common goal, he said, to free Palestine from the rule of Zionism and to construct a new, secular and democratic state of all the Palestinian people, Hebrew and Arab, with equal rights for peoples of all religions.

Coming years will see large numbers of Jewish Israelis join this struggle, he predicted, for it aims to free them too from the rule of Zionist militarism. He mentioned as one portent of the future the work of Matzpen, the Israeli Socialist Organization, embracing Arab and Jewish militants within Israel.

Dr. George Haggar, the Arab socialist scholar deprived of his right to teach in Canadian universities, supplemented the speaker's remarks in the discussion period. "The Palestinian revolutionaries are asking themselves, 'If we win, and take the power, what then — what kind of society will we try to construct?' " he said. He showed that their movement has a clearly socialist direction, and an increasing understanding that their revolution must be socialist in character.

Meet & Join those who are all-out in the fight against the Vietnam war - and committed to change this society

Join the League for Socialist Action & Young Socialists

MONTREAL. Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière, Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes, 226 est, rue Ste-Catherine, Montréal 129, 861-3018. Université de Montréal, c/o Gilbert Rousseau. Sir George Williams U. Young Socialists, c/o Victor Raymond, 861-3018.
OTTAWA. League for Socialist Action, Young Socialists, 365½ Bank St., Ottawa 4, 232-1054. Carleton U. Young Socialists, c/o Students Council, Carleton.
TORONTO. League for Socialist Action, 1 Cumberland St., Toronto 189, Ont. 922-6665. Young Socialists, 334 Queen St. W., 363-9618. U. of T. Young Socialists, c/o Harry Kopyto. York U. Young Socialists, c/o Jim Chisholm, 221-8129.
RICHMOND HILL. League for Socialist Action, Box 281, Richmond Hill, Ont.
HAMILTON. League for Socialist Action, Young Socialists, Box 4324, Station D, 529-9302.
GUELPH. Guelph U. Young Socialists, c/o Betty-Jane Sinclair, Apt. 205, 105 Water St., 821-2367.
KITCHENER. Workers Vanguard, Box 921, Kitchener, Ont.
KITCHENER-WATERLOO. Young Socialists, c/o Laurel Stuart, 2 Clarence Pl., Kitchener.
LONDON. c/o Steve Harding, 1462 Trafalgar, 451-8252.
ST. CATHARINES. Young Socialists, 20 Erie St., St. Catharines.
KENORA. c/o Jim Boulton, Box 533, 548-4732.
WINNIPEG. Workers Vanguard, 272 Cockburn St., Suite 34, Winnipeg, Man., 452-8518.
SASKATOON. c/o Ullrich Fischer, 445-5th Ave. N. #24, 242-8175.
EDMONTON. League for Socialist Action, Young Socialists, 10402 97th St., 424-7644. U. of A. Young Socialists, c/o Student Union Bldg.
VANCOUVER. League for Socialist Action, Young Socialists, 1208 Granville, 688-5924. SFU Young Socialists, c/o Carole Oleniuk, Student Society, SFU, Bby. 2, 688-5924. UBC Young Socialists, c/o AMS, 224-7578.

workers Vanguard #186 Nov. 17, 1969

Socialist League organized; enters New Zealand election

A new political organization, the Socialist Action League of New Zealand, has been formed in Wellington. Having as its objective the building of a vanguard revolutionary party, and projecting future affiliation with the Fourth International, the SAL represents an important new development.

In the past, the New Zealand working class has achieved a number of victories, but each step forward has also been the prelude to failures and betrayals by successive leaderships and the discrediting of their ideologies. In particular, the Labour party has a purely reformist outlook and the Communist party has for the most part, especially in recent years, been isolated from the workers.

In this context, only the revolutionary Marxists have any real long-range perspective for re-establishing the socialist tradition.

Additionally, the SAL is a product of deepening radicalization among the youth, particularly the students. In fact, the main basis for its formation was the Victoria University Socialist Club, founded by some Trotskyist students in June 1968.

Losing no time, the SAL has already plunged into an election campaign in the Wellington Central Electorate. The candidate is George Fyson, a 20 year old university student and editor of *Red Spark*, quarterly magazine of the Victoria U. Socialist Club. Coming at a time when preparations are being made in several major cities for anti-war actions November 15, Fyson's campaign has the Vietnam war as its main focus, demanding immediate withdrawal of NZ troops from Vietnam, withdrawal from the U.S.-controlled SEATO and ANZUS military alliances, and cancellation of the proposed "Omega" installations for guiding U.S. Polaris submarines.

Declared Fyson: "We are standing a candidate only because of the Labour 'leadership's' deliberate equivocation on this fundamental question of Vietnam."

The League offered its active support to the LP Wellington Central candidate on condition that Kirk, leader of the party, would commit himself to unconditional and immediate withdrawal of NZ troops. He refused, not even bothering to reply to two letters from the SAL.

Fyson denied "blackmail" charges on the issue, emphasizing the SAL's general support of the Labour party. The League deliberately chose a safe National party seat so as not to undermine Labour's prospects. Fyson announced that the SAL's election slogan would be "Vote Socialist Action in Wellington Central. Vote Labour Elsewhere."

Very important in spreading socialist ideas has been *Red Spark*, which has published the views of the Fourth International for the first time in this country to a significant degree. A recent major advance took place September 17, when the new SAL launched its fortnightly bulletin, *Socialist Action*, under the editorship of Owen Hughes and obtainable through 105 Kelburn Parade, Wellington, New Zealand.

#187 December 1, 1969

workers Vanguard

Steel strikes ended by close votes

by Paul Kent

The Sudbury and Port Colborne Steelworkers' settlement with International Nickel, followed by Mine Mill Local 598's settlement with Falconbridge Mines, brought to a close the giant basic steel and northern Ontario hardrock miners' strike that broke out early in July and extended into the last week of November.

During its course some 14,000 Hamilton workers and 6,700 Sault Ste. Marie workers, along with 17,000 Steelworkers in Sudbury and Port Colborne, and 3,700 Mine Mill members in Sudbury, were locked in combat with the most powerful concentrations of corporate wealth in the country.

The workers closed down the two largest of the country's three basic steel operations and clamped the lid tight on two of the three major workings of the giant corporations that control some 60 percent of the West's nickel supplies.

Inco's and Falconbridge's holdout created a world crisis in the supply of the strategic metal. President Nixon broke into the stockpile that had been built up for the U.S. Mint and war contractors. The British government, which imports 90 percent of its supplies from these Canadian operations imposed controls over exports of nickel-bearing materials since July. This resulted in British industry paying a free market price of over $18,000 a ton — roughly seven times the official producer price.

As costly as the struggle was for the strikers and their families it not only won immediate substantial gains for them but in the longer run for the entire working class from coast to coast. Local 1005's President Tipler presented the offer wrung out of Stelco to Hamilton workers late in October as the best ever negotiated by the United Steelworkers of America. Local 6500's President Homer Seguin presented the offer wrung out of Inco to Sudbury workers one month later as being ahead of the Stelco and Algoma settlements, and "the highest industrial settlement ever negotiated in North American history."

(See page 8)

Strike firms up Mine Mill local

(continued from page 1)

Whatever merit there is in this type of claim, (the Inco settlement is estimated to be $1.25 an hour in wages and fringe benefits over three years — 10 cents more than the Stelco and Algoma settlements) the contract signed one week later by independent Mine Mill Local 598 with Falconbridge surpassed them all by an estimated 6 cents more an hour over three years, in fringe benefits.

And whatever truth there is in these claims, they were far from satisfying the union rank and file to whom they were addressed. The Inco offer carried after 128 days of strike, but only in the face of massive opposition. So also for the Algoma settlement and the Stelco settlement before that.

With almost 10,000 members of the biggest local in the country voting, the Inco offer carried with the hairline majority of 166 votes. The joint Port Colborne-Sudbury negotiating committee had recommended non-acceptance of the offer, with an 11 to 6 majority against it. But District 6 Director Sefton cynically intervened to destroy the majority with the device of cutting the five Port Colborne members out of the committee. This resulted in a tie vote, broken by Local 1005's President Homer Seguin's vote for acceptance.

When the committee presented the terms to the 200 Inco stewards they were met with an outburst of boos and catcalls. The mass meeting of some 5,000 strikers in below freezing weather in Queens Athletic Field cheered Port Colborne president Babirand's opposition to the settlement and booed and catcalled the Inco local leadership so long and loud that they often couldn't even be heard.

The opposition leaflet issued by the majority of the original joint bargaining committee is obviously weak in its criticism of the Inco offer. Seguin was able to dismiss the Port Colborne members of the negotiating committee as holding out for items that would amount to a mere two cents. The opposition was not organized and was without articulate spokesmen.

Yet in Sudbury the Steel brass came within a hairsbreadth of being defeated; in Sault Ste. Marie, they managed to carry their line only with great difficulty; and in Hamilton they met heavy opposition. Their strategy of concentration on super-informed negotiations, lavish dispersal of union funds, and non-involvement of the ranks — Thompson Lake members continued to work at full blast and were kept completely out of the picture — only served to isolate them more than ever from the ranks.

The settlement won by Mine Mill Local 598 confronts the Steel brass with a serious challenge. It is a small local of less than 4,000, that is outside of the mainstream of organized labor and (it is no secret) was in dire economic condition. Nonetheless, as Local 1005 was voting on the Inco offer, the Mine Mill membership voted the same offer down. Within a week the Falconbridge bosses upped the Inco offer 6 cents. The negotiating committee recommended acceptance with the comment that "it is not all our members deserve from this huge company." While the Stelco leadership and the Inco leadership cut dues payments to compensate for their acceptance of a settlement that required the strikers to accept deductions for Ontario hospital coverage over the duration of the strike from their pay upon their return, the leadership of 598 boldly asked for a dues increase from the assembled membership — and won it.

Last August when they refused to accept the company's offer of an interim wage increase and anything that the Inco workers might win through their strike, if they would stay on the job, and when they joined in the struggle with the Inco workers, Local 598 started off on a new line of march. This strike saw the shake-out of some of the old sectarians and factionalists, and now militants across the country will be watching 598's future course in anticipation.

For a labor-socialist alternative at city hall!

"Kick big business out of city hall." "For a labor-socialist city administration." These are the main themes of the League for Social Action/Young Socialists campaign leaflet for the Toronto municipal elections. This leaflet, which is now being distributed on a large scale across Toronto, hits out against big business control of city hall:

"Mayor Dennison told a recent campaign meeting that 'we have to work with the private developers. We have to work within the confines of the system.' His view is typical of the majority of incumbent council members have a consistent record of total support for developers whose plans continually come in conflict with local residents.

"Fed up with the arrogant, unyielding opposition they meet at City Hall, citizens groups have raised demands for consultation and direct representation in all decisions affecting them."

The leaflet points out how the big business candidates are trying to divert this growing distrust by echoing this call for more consultation.

"But the issue in this election is not whether people should be consulted before the politicians and their ilk make the decisions on behalf of big business. The issue is nothing less than who shall hold the power at City Hall — the corporations or the working people.

"None of the other mayoralty candidates opposes this big business system. Liberal or Tory — they are linked with the parties which have controlled city hall from behind the scenes for years, and today control the governments at Queen's Park and Ottawa. Mayor Dennison, who manages to hold memberships in both the NDP and the Orange Order, has become so compromised that the NDP civic convention could not endorse him.

"Independent labor political action — that was the challenge posed by the NDP when it broke through this phony concept of 'non-partisan' big business politicking to field a slate of labor candidates under the party label, committed to a common program.

"But the leaders of the NDP and of organized labor in this city failed to carry through the challenge by presenting a full slate for all offices, including the mayor's. Thus the League for Socialist Action and the Young Socialists have filled out the labor-socialist slate by nominating candidates for mayor, alderman and school board. In doing so, we have ensured that the working people of Toronto have the means to make working class power at city hall a reality in 1969."

The leaflet goes on to itemize the LSA/YS program on the key issues facing the people of Toronto in this election.

"Fifteen thousand families on the public housing waiting list! Three out of four applicants live in 'substandard' housing. A fifth of Metro's families — over 100,000 — cannot afford the housing they require. . . There is only one solution to the housing crisis — the city must break through with public housing, by building now the tens of thousands of new units we urgently need. . . Kick private profiteers out of city redevelopment!"

The program calls for free public transportation and for the accelerated construction of subways and other forms of public transit. "Abolition of TTC fares need involve no extra overall cost — the city has in its files a specialist's report showing tremendous cost savings, not to speak of cutting down pollution, parking, traffic congestion, etc."

It exposes the job discrimination imposed on women employees of Metro and demands an end to "all discrimination against women workers, in pay, promotion and job classification, starting with the biggest employer, the municipality — by electing a labor administration!" In addition the program calls for free public day care centers for all pre-school children.

In discussing the war in Vietnam, the leaflet states that this is the greatest single cause of inflation and declares that a labor-socialist city administration will take a firm stand against U.S. aggression in Vietnam and Canada's complicity.

In addition the LSA/YS program calls for an elected police commission and for the burden of taxation to be transferred from residents to business and industry.

With respect to education, the Young Socialist/LSA program calls for the abolition of all fees for university and higher education, and living allowances for all students over 16. "The socialist candidates call for an end to streaming, which separates young women and students from working class backgrounds or immigrant families into dead end courses at an early age. They call for first class instruction and new schools in working class areas. Where a large proportion of students are Italian or members of other minority ethnic groups, they call for special classes in the minority language and literature." The program demands that schools be open to free debate on the major issues of the day and that they be under student-staff control.

workers Vanguard

#187, Dec 1, 1969

With the LSA-YS candidates

Glimpses of Toronto socialist campaign

Mr. Bassett's invitation arrived only minutes before the all-mayoralty-candidates debate in front of the TV cameras at CFTO. Mr. Bassett as owner of the daily *Telegram* and along with other communiciation media, owner of Toronto's only TV station other than CBC, had made it known in a personal letter to socialist mayoralty candidate John Riddell that he saw no reason why Riddell should be interviewed along with the other three "serious" candidates in the all-candidates debate. But a little encouragement from Riddell and a little pressure from listeners of an all-candidates radio debate over CKEY which caused all other three candidates to publicly declare that they support Riddell's demand for equal time, caused Mr. Bassett to reconsider. Democracy didn't prevail with the *Toronto Star* editors' big spread on the mayoralty candidates. Riddell was ignored. A letter to the editor protesting that this was a matter for the electorate to decide was foot noted that those interviewed "were clearly identified as the three leading candidates."

* * *

LSA aldermanic candidate Joan Newbigging went to the New Feminists group with the challenge that they should do something about the rank discrimination that

JOAN NEWBIGGING, Toronto aldermanic candidate.

city hall practises against women. She told them about the unanimous decision of the Metro Council to fight in the courts against the granting of equal pay for its female employees at Greenacres Home. The New Feminists were indignant and decided to hold a protest meeting in city hall square on Thursday, and asked Joan to be the speaker. The Women's Liberation group has also responded to the challenge and will be participating in the demonstration. This is the first time that the two groups have agreed to collaborate and it represents a big break-out for both, and for the cause of womens liberation.

* * *

The Young Socialist candidates for the Board of Education have been taking their campaign right to the students. This has caused confusion in some circles. After all, who campaigns where there are no immediate votes to be garnished? Candidate Harry Kopyto moved in with a loud hailer and leaflets on the Harbord Collegiate yard. In no time over 100 students were listening to his call for student-staff control of the school, when the principal appeared and ordered him off. About 300 students gathered around to hear Harry debate the principal about his attempt to round out the school's citizenship course and how this was a living lesson in democracy. As Harry moved out of the yard the 300 interested students followed to enquire about what the socialists have to say. The leaflet distributions and soapboxing at the schools so riles the school authorities that they clearly demonstrate just how undemocratic the whole system is. But not all are riled. One teacher stopped one of the socialist candidates to tell him how impressed he was with the YS campaign. He look some leaflets to distribute in the school and promised to invite a YSer to address his class after the campaign.

* * *

The Italian weekend newspaper *Il Sole* carried a very interesting report of an Italian businessman's luncheon which was addressed by the mayoralty candidates.

"Last of all the young man took the platform. He said his name was John Riddell and that he was running as a mayoralty candidate of the League for Socialist Action and the Young Socialists. The atmosphere became tense. It was like talking of the rope in the house of the hanged. Young Riddell began by speaking of the monopolies, of the big American corporations. The hubub in the hall grew greater. . . . None of those present had anything to do with the big corporations (Riddell said) but at that moment each one of them thought of himself as a little Ford or Onassis.

Riddell pressed on, a bit nervous and a bit uneasy. He spoke of Vietnam and once more attacked the Americans. At this point someone stood up and left in protest while Riddell sought to make those present understand that he was speaking of Vietnam because every citizen, every mayor and every civic administration has the duty to be responsive to this problem . . . Gracious heavens!

. . . Riddell had ruined the feast. All the food, the candelabras, were in vain, as were the tributes and the compliments for the Italians from the other three candidates. Everything would have proceeded peacefully and perfectly until this young man began speaking of more important matters. To conclude in a few words, we congratulate the young man. We tell him we admire his courage. Too bad we do not have the right to vote, otherwise — I'd give him my vote." (Non-British immigrants have to live in Canada 5 years before they can vote.)

* * *

Some one in the audience of a Women's Electors meeting asked one of the many candidates what he thought of the opinion of "the young man who appeared on TV running for mayor" that there should be

→to page 2

Workers Vanguard #187 - Dec. 1, 1969

JOHN RIDDELL, socialist mayoralty candidate, addressing Toronto antiwar rally

from page 1 →

day care centers set up across the city. The candidate declared that woman's place was in the home looking after her children, and that the main reason why women go out to work is because they think it is boring to remain home. LSA aldermanic candidate Harry Stone interjected, isn't that a good reason why women who want to, should be able to work? There was a big burst of applause, particularly from the women in the audience.

* * *

Candidate Joe Young's appearance before the Board of Education calling for support action in Toronto schools of the U.S. moratorium against the war in Vietnam turned the meeting into chaos. After one member ventured to suggest that they do so they agreed to hear him out. Then there was a steady barrage of scurrilous questions. Is the Vietnam Mobilization Committee a communist front? Were you born in Canada? And are you married? Though the board turned down the appeal the action in the schools, particularly the universities in the Toronto area, was biggest ever.

* * *

Candidate Jacquie Henderson's response to the uneasiness about her youth and "inexperience" — that one of her highest qualifications is that she has just gone through the education mill and works for a student organization — always gets a hesitant, and then warm response from parents. One candidate, a storekeeper who assured the audience that he never sold glue to anyone under age, urged the provision of playgrounds as an answer to drug taking. Jacquie said kids take drugs because of the sick society we live in — they see the horrors of the war in Vietnam, they see poverty and dead-end jobs ahead. A playground won't help. We need a revolution, a new socialist society. A group of students yelled out, yeah! yeah! Several came up and asked for the LSA/YS election leaflet which in quick order they were using to challenge the new speakers with. One candidate's statement that we need more freedom for principals and teachers got a wave of groans and cries that the principals have got all the freedom they could want — it's us students who are in prison. Some said that the point they liked best in the program was the election of the police commission. Several of them left the meeting with Jacquie to do door to door distributions. They have become active in the campaign and are trying to organize meetings in their schools.

* * *

Following the gas main explosion in the Metro Toronto area of Malton which killed a woman and gutted an entire block, LSA/YS candidates and supporters mounted a picket line in front of Consumers Gas office in downtown Toronto. A leaflet that was handed out to passersby scored the company for overlooking their systems and installing them at inadequate depths in order to maximize profits — at the expense of safety. The demonstrators carried signs calling for the municipal ownership of Consumers Gas.

* * *

Of the 464 candidates contesting the aldermanic and school board posts, only three — Richard Fidler, LSA aldermanic candidate; Harry Kopyto, Young Socialist candidate for Board of Education; and Marc Llanos, NDP aldermanic candidate — were able or willing to participate in a live 20-minute round table interview on CJBC, the local French language radio station. The station serves a population of 70,000 French Canadians — one of Toronto's largest minorities.

Among the questions discussed were the importance of independent labor political action at the municipal level, why Vietnam is a municipal issue, and democratization of the schools.

Asked how some of the LSA's demands could be implemented under the existing constitutional limits on the powers of municipalities like Toronto, Fidler noted that the city already has full legal power to provide many services that it doesn't — e.g., a comprehensive municipal medicare plan, municipal insurance, adequate housing standards, etc. — and that in any case a labor-socialist civic government would mobilize public opinion to challenge other levels of government to provide necessary services or go ahead and provide them itself.

"In fact," he said, "there is virtually no limit on what a city government enjoying the full support of the working people could do."

Vanguard/December 1, 1969
#187

Book Review

Fifty years of world revolution

FIFTY YEARS OF WORLD REVOLUTION, 1917-1967. An International Symposium. Edited by Ernest Mandel. Merit Publishers. 366 pp. $8.50. 1968. Available from Vanguard Bookstores.

This book is a collection of essays written by revolutionary socialists from many countries throughout the world. Each of the authors is a leading member of the Trotskyist movement in his respective country. Edited and with an introduction by Ernest Mandel, the noted Marxist economist and editor of the Belgian socialist weekly *La Gauche*, this work delves into the history of half a century of world revolution initiated by the great Russian socialist revolution of October, 1917, the first successful proletarian revolution in the history of this planet.

The seizure of power and the setting up of the first workers state by the workers of Czarist Russia and the Bolshevik party, launched mankind into an epoch of permanent revolution. The process initiated during that period, and so clearly evident today, is reflected by the struggles of peoples everywhere for their emancipation from oppression and exploitation, social inequality and violence. During these last fifty years, millions of workers and peasants in many different countries have joined together in the fight against capitalist rule.

The Bolsheviks did not think that the construction of a socialist society could be attained with the isolation of backward Russia from the rest of the world. They conquered power and initiated the Communist International not with the idea of setting up socialism in one country, but with the aim of linking up with the world revolution; of joining forces with revolutionary socialists wherever possible. They realized that for mankind to emancipate itself, an international effort was desperately needed.

After the setting up of the Third International in 1919, thousands of workers, students, intellectuals, and professional revolutionaries devoted themselves to this task. Despite the hardships and pitfalls, they devoted themselves completely, and in many cases sacrificed their lives. Today over a third of the globe and of the human race have been lifted from the yoke of capital. The way this point was reached, the endeavors of the militants of the Third International, and of the world proletariat, their exploits and important achievements, as well as their temporary defeats and errors, are described in this book.

Besides illustrating in depth the major historical working class struggles in these last fifty years, this work also brings to life, in a very dramatic way, the vast accumulation of thought and experience over the long history of the world Trotskyist movement, which is today embodied in the parties of the Fourth International, the world party of socialist revolution founded by Leon Trotsky. It is in a sense a condensation of many of the important theories and teachings of Trotskyism, and shows how the Marxist method of thought is used as a tool in dealing with the development of theory, how it traces a point to the historical and class roots of social reality and examines its composition, in order to help determine its future direction.

In each essay, the author discusses specific problems and questions which have confronted revolutionary socialists since mankind first entered into the era of world revolution. Some of the subjects dealt with include the Soviet Union in the Stalin and post-Stalin periods, the rise, fall, and dissolution of the Third International, the rise of fascism in Germany, the Chinese and Indochinese revolution, the Cuban revolution, the black liberation struggle in the United States, the economic impasse in the "third world" and the economics of the transitional period in the Soviet-bloc countries. It also includes an excellent supplementary list of one hundred of the most important Marxist works.

Today, more than ever, revolutionary socialism is the only possible answer to the most urgent problems of our time. The contradiction between the fantastic potential for solving human needs and the existing social reality in the world today is becoming more and more blatant. The youth, especially the student youth, sense this absurdity, perhaps in a confused way, but with a passion and sensitivity which is today shaking the world from Berkeley to Paris.

But in order to insure the future of society and mankind, this revolt of the youth must orient itself toward a precise goal. Together with the world proletariat it must direct itself to the overthrow of capitalist society, and the creation of a truly human society, a socialist society, which bases itself on human need and not on private property and profit. This book is a valuable contribution to this effort in the education of new cadres in the new generation of revolutionaries. I recommend it highly for everyone interested in understanding the basic ideas of revolutionary socialism.

by Paul Breton

workers Vanguard #187 - Dec. 1, 1969

12-01-5

CP up to old tricks in peace movement

The anti-Vietnam war movement has proved to be a powerful force in the growing movement of extraparliamentary dissent across Canada. It has drawn into its ranks and educated a broad variety of views and political tendencies, through united action around the central themes of immediate withdrawal of U.S. troops and an end to Ottawa's complicity in the war.

A contrary behavior is exhibited by the Communist party, which once dominated the old liberal-oriented "peace" movement. Many antiwar activists have noted an increasing tendency for the CP to cut back its activity in the movement, and even abstain altogether from the mass mobilizations, as it did in Vancouver during last April's Days of Protest. What is serious, however, is that in some places where the CP still retains significant weight in antiwar coalitions it has actively attempted to sabotage the movement.

Thus, in Montreal, at the Nov. 14 rally for representatives of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam, Edward Sloan, organizer of the meeting and longtime spokesman for the CP wing of the peace movement, called private guards and later city police to expel militants passing out a leaflet announcing a demonstration the next day in solidarity with the international antiwar mobilization.

The second blow was the assembly itself. Scarcely 300 people, for the most part elderly pacifists and CP sympathizers, huddled uncomfortably in a hall that seats 2,500. Many people, in particular the Vietnamese students who were present, remarked on the unserious way in which the organizers had publicized the meeting, and the fact that they had excluded representatives of movements which had led the mass opposition against Bill 63, Quebec's hated anglicization law. (The CP, which supports bilingualism and Bill 63, claims that this mass movement might "turn into fascism.")

In Vancouver, the CP consistently misrepresented the plans for the Nov. 15 antiwar action. CP spokesmen on the Labor Council launched scurrilous attacks on the antiwar movement, insinuating it was led by "penny-ante revolutionaries." The CP's organ *Pacific Tribune* publicized the Dr. Spock rally and the Nov. 14 candlelight procession sponsored by Voice of Women, but neglected to inform its readers that the Nov. 15 action, under the sponsorship of the Vietnam Action Committee, would feature two feeder marches — a vocal protest march with banners and slogans, and a silent protest march. The Nov. 14 issue of *PT* announced only the silent march.

The Nov. 15 action was the largest single demonstration against the Vietnam war ever held in Vancouver. The Nov. 21 *PT* mentioned the sponsoring Vietnam Action Committee for the first time, pretended that the VAC had sponsored only the vocal march, and attacked its "slogans, banners, flags, etc. which served only to confuse marchers and spectators alike to the real issue."

In Toronto, the Communist party participated in the major action, the march to city hall. But its behavior elsewhere indicates clearly that the Canadian Stalinists have to all intents and purposes decided to stand aside from building the antiwar movement, and even resist its forward movement.

A million marched against the war in Washington and San Francisco.

#188

'Year of crisis' looms for Ontario teachers

by Paul Kent

Come January 5, the first scheduled day of school in the winter term, and 24,000 high school students in Hamilton and Grey County, Ont. will be without teachers. Some 843 out of a total of 1,153 teachers will have resigned from 20 Hamilton schools and 253 out of 309 teachers will have resigned from two schools in Owen Sound, and one each in Fleshterton, Hanover, Durham and Meaford.

This, the first teacher walk-out in Ontario history will take place if the Hamilton board of education doesn't revise its "final" offer.

The Hamilton board, packed as other boards across the province, with Liberals and Tories, has been hiding behind the law which forbids teachers to strike. But teachers can resign at the Christmas and summer vacation period, and that is what the Hamilton and Grey County high school teachers have decided to do — with the sympathy of teachers across the province.

Some 2,200 Toronto secondary school teachers have agreed to put aside two percent of their salaries each month in a strike fund for their Hamilton colleagues. The levy will provide about $50,000 a month. Scarborough teachers have also guaranteed help.

Toronto teachers are following Hamilton developments very closely. They go into bargaining for their 1970-71 salaries this January. Last month Metro Toronto teachers invited Albert Shanker, teacher-unionist who spent 15 days in jail for calling last year's New York teachers' strike, to address a North York teachers' dinner and a meeting of Toronto teachers.

Shanker, president of the United Federation of Teachers, affiliated to the AFL-CIO, received a standing ovation when he told them that few children remembered geometry theorms when they leave school "but in New York City they've learned teachers can stand up with dignity and fight like others." Until now, he noted, teachers who have hesitated to organize and exercise power have been a "bunch of snobs." "Only on the picket line and through political action," he challenged, "can you make gains."

Shanker was accompanied by Ward McAdam, president of the Ontario Secondary School Teachers Federation, who told the teachers that this will be a "year of crisis" for teachers in Ontario.

The Teachers Federation has blacklisted Hamilton, which means that any teacher who signs up with that board forfeits federation benefits. Last April Hamilton teachers rejected a board offer of a $6,800 minimum and a $14,200 maximum after 14 years experience by an 84 percent majority, with some schools voting 100 percent against. They started work this fall without a contract. They are seeking a 13 percent increase over one year and the board offer amounts to about 8 percent according to negotiators. One of the teachers' key demands is that the maximum be met after 11 years of teaching.

Education Minister William Davis' department is in conference with the Hamilton board and this week Hamilton teachers will meet to decide whether what comes out of this is satisfactory, or, to launch the first teachers "strike" in Ontario history.

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Crisis in British Labor party is analyzed by socialists

"From the point of view of the Wilson leadership, this year's Labor conference is already being built up as one of the most successful ever. From the viewpoint of the left it was one of the most unrewarding," according to the British revolutionary socialist journal *International*. Its November issue analyzes the recent BLP conference in Brighton.

"The general decline of political activity inside the party was reflected in the fact that affiliated and individual membership was lower than at any time since 1951. Only just over 300 out of 630 constituency parties were represented at Conference. The low political level is demonstrated by the failure of Vietnam or racialism — two key questions — even to appear on the agenda."

Although two of Britain's biggest unions, the Amalgamated Engineering Federation and the Transport and General Workers' Union, cast their votes against the party executive's statement "Agenda for a Generation," (the statement nonetheless passed), their leaders said they would accept this document if a few words about the necessity for a Prices and Incomes policy were dropped. "The rest of the document however," *International* notes, "is simply a recipe for the continuation of the government's current policies for the modernization of British capitalism. . . If you accept one you have no choice but to accept the other. A fight conducted on such a level is assured of failure in advance."

They conclude that "on any score it appears unlikely that there will be a fight of any significance within the Labor party for several years. . . Only a really traumatic disaster appears likely to shake the apathy."

Dismal record

The October issue of *International* reviewed the dismal record of Labor in office — in particular the Wilson government's "sustained attack on the trade union movement," its "incomes policy," the decline in basic social services like housing and medical care, its capitulation to racism, and, in foreign affairs, "the subordination of Britain to the dictates of U.S. imperialism, represented at its most obnoxious by Wilson's craven support for the U.S. role in Vietnam."

"The evolution of the Wilson government" the revolutionary socialists conclude, "provides yet another example of the dead end reached by reformism. In a period of expansion, e.g., post-1945, the Labor party was able to make important social reforms, thus securing some improvement in the standard of life of the workers within the framework of the capitalist economy. In the ailing economy of the 1960s, increasingly under pressure from the general slowdown in the international capitalist economy, the old reformist policy would not work. Disabled by its whole tradition and ideology from leading the working class into a real anticapitalist struggle and breaking decisively with the world imperialist system, the Labor leadership has to accept the priorities of a struggling capitalism: to safeguard profits even at the cost of attacking the social services and working class living standards."

Harold Wilson

Reformism the problem

It is this *reformist* outlook of the Labor leadership, and not just (as some "lefts" maintain) its undemocratic practices, which explains why that leadership "has invariably been totally unwilling to challenge the entrenched power of the capitalist state," *International* says.

"Thus during the First World War, while workers on Clydeside, in Sheffield, etc., conducted struggles to defend their living conditions, which led to a confrontation with the state, members of the Labor leadership participated in the coalition government which prosecuted the imperialist war. Leading a solid and unified force into the General Strike of 1926, the TUC (Trades Union Congress) leadership was so horrified by its revolutionary implications that, to the amazement and dismay of the rank and file, it capitulated totally before the government after nine days.

"Ramsey MacDonald was the archetype of the Labor leader mesmerized by the trappings of power, with a tremendous reverence for parliament, the monarchy, etc. He led the Labor party into its greatest defeat: the debacle of 1931. In 1945, elected to power on a wave of postwar enthusiasm for radical social change, the Labor leadership confined itself to taking over a few bankrupt industries under a bureaucratic system of management and to some important reforms of the social services. But no attempt was made to challenge the commanding heights of capitalist power and influence."

Failure of traditional 'left'

There has always been a sizeable left opposition within the Labor party. But, *International* points out, "a very large part of the responsibility for this lack of clear and organized opposition to the policies of the Wilson leadership lies with the traditional 'left' in the Labor party, especially that around the journal *Tribune*."

This left has been characterized by "an unwillingness to go beyond criticism of specific details of policy to an overall and principled opposition to the procapitalist policies of the leadership. This failure of the left to have any real perspective, its fetish of parliament and its unwillingness to

→ to page 2

#188

Page 2

mobilize the mass of the movement, has meant that it leads a very unstable existence. The career of Bevan, with his ultimate capitulation to Gaitskell in 1957, provides a perfect illustration of this point. In the present era many erstwhile 'Tribunites' like (Barbara) Castle and (Anthony) Greenwood have joined the government. Those left MPs outside of the government have on the whole totally failed to mount any real opposition to it. . .

"Because the leftward looking rank and file of the party have customarily seen these people as their leadership, it is precisely their failure to come out in clear opposition to the rightward drift of the Wilson leadership that has been such an important factor in ensuring that no effective opposition did emerge, and in disillusioning many thousands of activists."

The new revolutionaries

The "most important political development of the past few years," *International* says, "is the rise of a new generation of revolutionary minded young people who are on the whole quite outside the ranks of the Labor party. From the workers' control campaign, through apprentices' committees, and student campaigns, and above all in the anti-imperialist movement, a new generation has come very quickly to political maturity."

It is from this new generation "which has no illusions in the present setup in the Labor party" that "the dynamic will come for revolutionary socialist action in Britain in the future."

Despite its record of class compromise and anti-working class repression when in power, the British Labor party still retains the loyalties of the mass of British workers. Thus sooner or later, the growing anti-capitalist movement outside the party will, as it comes to bear on the mass movement, find an expression in the Labor party.

When this happens, *International* concludes, "the British labor movement will contemptuously dismiss the Wilsons of this world and the way will be clear for the conduct of a real anti-capitalist struggle by the British working class."

It is in this long range perspective of struggle within the Labor party, as *International* has affirmed many times, that the decisive forces for the mass revolutionary socialist party will be forged in the long run.

Meet Socialists in Your Area

MONTREAL. Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière, Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes, 226 est, rue Ste-Catherine, Montréal 129, 861-3018. Université de Montréal, c/o Gilbert Rousseau. Sir George Williams U. Young Socialists, c/o Victor Raymond, 861-3018.

OTTAWA. League for Socialist Action, Young Socialists, 365½ Bank St., Ottawa 4, 232-1054. Carleton U. Young Socialists, c/o Students Council, Carleton.

TORONTO. League for Socialist Action, 1 Cumberland St., Toronto 189, Ont. 922-6665. Young Socialists, 334 Queen St. W., 363-9618. U. of T. Young Socialists, c/o Harry Kopyto. York U. Young Socialists, c/o Jim Chisholm, 221-8129.

RICHMOND HILL. League for Socialist Action, Box 281, Richmond Hill, Ont.

HAMILTON. League for Socialist Action, Young Socialists, Box 4324, Station D, 529-9302.

GUELPH. Guelph U. Young Socialists, c/o Betty-Jane Sinclair, Apt. 205, 105 Water St., 821-2367.

KITCHENER. Workers Vanguard, Box 921, Kitchener, Ont.

KITCHENER-WATERLOO. Young Socialists, c/o Laurel Stuart, 2 Clarence Pl., Kitchener.

LONDON. c/o Steve Harding, 1462 Trafalgar, 451-8252.

ST. CATHARINES. Young Socialists, 20 Erie St., St. Catharines.

KENORA. c/o Jim Boulton, Box 533, 548-4732.

WINNIPEG. Workers Vanguard, 272 Cockburn St., Suite 34, Winnipeg, Man., 452-8518.

SASKATOON. c/o Ullrich Fischer, 445 5th Ave. N. #24, 242-8175.

EDMONTON. League for Socialist Action, Young Socialists, 10402 97th St., 424-7644. U. of A. Young Socialists, c/o Student Union Bldg.

VANCCUVER. League for Socialist Action, Young Socialists, 1208 Granville, 688-5924. SFU Young Socialists, c/o Carole Oleniuk, Student Society, SFU, Bby. 2, 688-5924. UBC Young Socialists, c/o AMS, 224-7578.